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**Inclusion and the Challenge of 'Social,
Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties'.**

Gwynedd Lloyd

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DECLARATION

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABSTRACT

The papers submitted here, with the associated commentary, offer a contribution to the debate on educational inclusion based on the theorising of a range of research involving different groups but with the common theme of the challenge to inclusion of deviance. The research reported in the nine papers addresses broad issues of inclusion / exclusion, as the focus of the papers includes not only special educational needs but also gender, ethnicity, poverty and social exclusion. In the commentary linking the nine papers I offer a critique of the various definitions of social, emotional and behavioural difficulties, 'SEBD', both in practice and how these are used in the current theoretical and policy discussions of inclusion and of exclusion. I argue for the possibility of constructing a more complex multidimensional model of 'SEBD', which recognises the complexities of its social construction but still acknowledges the often difficult experiences of young people and those professionals involved with them. This commentary will attempt to show that an explication of a wider social justice based model of inclusion can provide a basis for practitioners to support individual young people within a critical, reflective framework.

Declaration.

I declare that the thesis submitted here as a commentary on the research papers is my own work. Where other names are included on the research papers I was the principal, usually the sole, author and the research discussed in Papers 1 to 7 and 9 was conceptualised and directed by myself.

Paper 8, however, discusses a small piece of my individual work, within a larger project with a team of four. I was co- grant holder, but the project was led by my colleague, Pamela Munn.

All colleagues have agreed to the submission of this work here. None of this work has been submitted for the award of another degree.

Gwynedd Lloyd

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The Papers Submitted

Paper 1 : Lloyd, G & Padfield, P 1996 Reintegration to Mainstream - Gi'e Us Peace! *British Journal of Special Education* 23. 4. 80 -186

Paper 2: Lloyd, G & O'Regan, A.1999 Education for Social Exclusion? Issues to do with the effectiveness of educational provision for young women with 'social, emotional and behavioural difficulties. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties* 4. 2. 38 - 46

Paper 3 : Lloyd, G. & O'Regan, A. 2000 "You have to learn to love yourself 'cos no-one else will." Young women with 'social, emotional or behavioural difficulties' and the idea of the underclass. *Gender and Education* 12. 1. 39 -52

Paper 4 : Lloyd, G & Norris, C 1998 From Difference to Deviance; The Exclusion of Gypsy Traveller Pupils from School.*International Journal of Inclusive Education* 2. 4. 59 -369

Paper 5 : Lloyd,G & Stead,J 2001 "The boys and girls not calling me names and the teachers to believe me." Name calling and the Experiences of Travellers in School. *Children in Society* 15. 361-374

Paper 6: Lloyd, G & Norris, C 1999 Including ADHD? *Disability and Society* 14. 4. 505 -517

Paper 7 : Lloyd, G 2000 From Ragged to Residential Schools in Holmes,H (Ed)*Compendium of Scottish Ethnology 11 : Institutions of Scotland: Education* European Ethnological Research Centre, Edinburgh.

Paper 8 : Lloyd, G 1999 Gender and Exclusion

Salisbury,J & Riddell,S (Eds) *Gender and Policy in Education*. London:
Routledge

Paper 9 : Lloyd, G 1997 Deviance and Gender in School – Integrating the
Thinking *Scottish Educational Research Association Conference Proceedings*.
Glasgow: Scottish Educational Research Association

THE COMMENTARY

Introduction

This paper constitutes a commentary on a number of research based articles. It sets out to bring together the key ideas that underpinned, yet were implicit rather than explicit, in the articles submitted in this document. The process gave me the opportunity to return to the articles, to be critical of them, to do some more reading and to further develop my thinking. This was a complicated process as I wished to try to address the full theoretical complexity of the issues addressed in the various articles and, indeed, to argue that the broad topic of educational deviance, and particular, the concept of Social, Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties requires a multidimensional model of understanding. The process gave me the opportunity of stepping back and developing my ideas into a more coherent argument.

So writing this commentary had a number of purposes:

- *to demonstrate and further develop a clear theoretical position underpinning my work*
- *to reconsider the research and reflect critically on its aims, methods and arguments*
- *to develop a critique of current definitions of (social), emotional and behavioural difficulties, '(S)EBD', and related ideas such as Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder, 'ADHD'*
- *to explore the use of these concepts both in professional practice and in the current theoretical and policy discussions of inclusion and of exclusion*
- *to construct a multi-layered understanding of '(S)EBD', which acknowledges its social construction but still includes a recognition of the difficult experiences of young people and those professionals involved with them*
- *to emphasise the significance of gender in this understanding and to explicitly consider the views of young women*
- *to demonstrate the ways in which educational deviance and '(S)EBD constitute a challenge to ideas of educational inclusion*
- *to consider the implications of all these for professional practice and educational change.*

The work discussed in this commentary is based in both an *academic* interest in understanding, and making sense of, the position of children and young people excluded from full participation in education and in a *professional* interest in identifying ways in which they can be supported in school. My view of the role of the educational theorist and researcher is that it should offer a way through for practitioners. Accordingly while research should be undertaken with academic rigour,

theorised and related to key ideas in the literature it can nonetheless be written in language that is clear and accessible. This paper has offered an opportunity to develop and make more explicit my own theoretical position. I use the term theory to denote a set of thinking tools, which can contribute to understanding or, in another way can '*...frame a number of interrogative perspectives*' (Slee 1995: 4; Allan 1999; Thomas & Loxley 2001).

The articles/chapters included here as a group of papers have the added value, together with the commentary, of offering a contribution to the debate on inclusion, based on the theorising of a range of research involving different groups but with the common theme of the challenge to inclusion of educational deviance. The research reported in the nine papers addresses broad issues of inclusion /exclusion, as the focus of the papers includes not only special educational needs but also gender, ethnicity, poverty and social exclusion. In this commentary linking my articles I set out to develop a critique of the various definitions of (social), emotional and behavioural difficulties, (S)EBD, in practice and how these are used in the current theoretical and policy discussions of inclusion and of exclusion. I wished to explore the possibilities of constructing a multi-layered understanding of '(S)EBD', which acknowledges the often difficult experiences of young people and those professionals involved with them.

This commentary, together with the papers, will be a distinctive contribution to the literature in this field in its bringing together of four themes. First, it critiques the dominant psycho-medical perspective on Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties (EBD) arguing for a more sociologically based understanding of the construction of deviance and conformity in school. Second it nevertheless asserts the powerfulness of individual experience while contextualising this in a wider exploration of the arguments around the social model of special educational needs /disability in the work on inclusion. Third some of the papers it discusses have a strong focus on the experience of girls and young women, rarely mentioned in any detail in the research literature on deviance in school. Four it discusses the arguments about special education/inclusion in relation to wider issues of ethnicity and social justice. Additionally the research is set in a Scottish educational and social policy context. This aspect is not discussed in detail, as the number of words in this commentary has to be limited. However the papers reflect the Scottish educational context, with key differences in policy and practice, although the broad issues discussed here apply across Scotland and the rest of Britain and indeed the theoretical discussion refers mainly to literature based on policy and practice in England.

I use the evidence from the research to support my argument that much of the current critical

writing on inclusion, in its criticism of the medical/psychological paradigms previously dominant (and reappearing, for example, in the case of Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder, ADHD) in special education, has excluded the experience of the child /young person, as a human being, from the discussion. Despite the emphasis on rights, in constructing inclusion and rejecting the essentialist individualism of special education the voice of young people and parents is not strongly heard. The views, actions and experiences of the young people and parents do not simply represent diversity or difference to be celebrated within an inclusive ideology but also represent a challenge to be addressed by theoreticians and practitioners.

The critical literature on inclusion may be rejected by practitioners as, in its justifiable and worthy efforts to move from an obsession with the technical practices of special education, it denies the reasonable question still asked by the teacher faced with a pupil who asks for help, confronts the teacher or bullies other children - what to do? Clark and colleagues argue that the drawback of what they call the post-positivist tradition in thinking about special education/inclusion is that it leads to an ever refined critique that makes it more difficult to produce a constructive alternative to current practices (Clark et al 1998).

The argument

This paper will argue:

- *for the development of a wider social justice based model of inclusion that can provide a basis for practitioners to support individual young people within a critical, reflective framework.*
- *for a recognition of the multiplicity of factors in the construction and labelling of educational deviance and the inadequacy of the dominant psycho-medical models.*
- *that the concept of (S)EBD in practice is relational, not reflecting a fixed objective category.*
- *that young people are constructed and labelled as deviant or with (S)EBD in shifting professional discourses.*
- *that understanding these processes requires a complex, multidimensional model incorporating the movements of power on and between the different but related levels of the social world*
- *for an acknowledgement of the impact on school of wider structural inequalities and of a range of dominant and minority cultures and cultural sources.*
- *for the relevance of an analysis of competing policy interests, of professional expert discourses, of financial and funding pressures, of commercial promotion and an exploration of the operations of power in the micropolitics of schools.*
- *for a conceptualisation of young people as subject to disciplinary processes but also as resistant to these processes, as exerting their own power in school and that these processes are*

gendered, classed and racialised.

- *that for an understanding the 'deviant pupil' it is necessary to perceive all these factors in an enmeshed and dynamic relationship with each other and with the individual choices and responses of the young person.*
- *that young people respond to these processes with individual human feelings, and these have to be included in the model. A complex multidimensional approach can include the possibility that individual young men and women have their own subjectivities and may have personal troubles.*
- *that the way in which these troubles are expressed and described reflects the enmeshing of the individual understanding with the complex range of social factors. Both are necessary for an adequate account.*

Outline of this commentary

In the pages that follow I begin by discussing the research that the articles are based on. Further details of the research projects are given on pages 56-61, immediately preceding the articles themselves. I outline some methodological and epistemological considerations (pp7-10), defining the key elements of my methodological approach. The paper then discusses some important ethical issues and arguments about the politics of research. I then offer an indication of my own broad theoretical understanding of the world (10 –13).

The next sections begin to explore the concept of power in understanding how pupils 'behave' or 'misbehave' in school (14), arguing for a complex reading of the operations of power in schools that allows for a more creative understanding of both structure and agency. The concept of (S)EBD is then considered as the beginning of a critique of psycho-medical approaches (16 –18). The processes of labelling in professional decision-making and the role of disciplinary knowledge and power in naming and placing are discussed (19-20). The exclusionary processes of schools are discussed in their production of pupils who conform and who also may resist and this is connected with the response to difference in school (20-21). The paper then returns to the notion of labels, the complexity of the process of professional decision-making and the range of pressures on decision-makers (21-22). The paper moves on to explore the connection between private and public dimensions, in discussing disciplinary exclusion in the context of wider ideas of exclusion (22-23). In arguing for an understanding that recognises the individual complexities of young people as well as the power of the social context, it then criticises the notion of the biopsychosocial (particularly in relation to the notion of ADHD (23-25). This section also further considers the place and purposes of labels, recognising the power of medical labels. The next part reviews and criticises the 'new

medical model' in writing about special education, relating this to the theme of binary judgements in the dividing practices of decision-making about young people (25-29).

The paper then explores the ways in which these practices of labelling and decision-making are gendered, arguing that the literature on school deviance is largely gender blind and that the experience of girls and young women is under-represented (29). The contribution of feminist writing is discussed in relation to the argument that young men and young women may both resist and be produced through the social relations of class and gender (30-31). This leads on to an exploration of gendered power relations in school and the ideas of double standards and the 'gender deal'. Gender is itself seen to be constituted in relation to class and culture (32-35) and the notion of school exclusion widened into a discussion of social exclusion (35-37).

The next sections reconnect the wider aspects of social exclusion with the troubles of individuals arguing that the sociology of educational deviance has underplayed the complexities of human experience (37-40). The individual young person with a psychic life characterised by affect as well as intellect, in constant interaction with their social world, may experience difficulties and search for support. In acknowledging the range of discourses which contribute to an understanding of human actions and feelings, the experience and voice of that individual may be lost. The paper argues for a recognition that young people may have individual troubles and for an approach which recognises the complex enmeshing of the individual and the social (40-43).

The paper then returns to the literature on educational inclusion, that in its critique of the dominant psycho-medical perspective in special education, tends to suggest that attending to individual troubles is oppressive, that it is really about social control in the interests of professionals (43-44). I discuss the continuum of positions about inclusion, recognising the value of the radical inclusive position in its critical discussion of special education needs in a wider context of social and economic inequality (44-46). The moderate inclusion position is rejected as a reconstitution of the old practices of special education, but acknowledged to be rooted in the 'dilemmas of difference' (46-48). The valuing of difference is argued to be problematic (48-50).

The paper concludes with an attempt to bring together all these complex strands into an understanding of school deviance, arguing for a recognition of exclusionary and inclusionary forces in a contradictory tension in school processes and for a multidimensional model of (S)EBD. Such a model can include the possibility that young people have their own subjectivities and may have personal troubles. The way in which these troubles are expressed, described or responded to,

reflects the enmeshing of the individual understanding with a complex range of social factors (50-52)

The final section relates these ideas to educational practice and suggests some ways forward (52-55). It argues that a complex model of understanding leads to an approach that emphasises the knowledge and involvement of the individual young person in developing support strategies. Inclusive approaches would begin by exploring the structures of power and constructions of deviance in the school. Professionals would reflect on their role and their contribution to decision-making, unpacking the language of labelling and discourses of difference. Young people interviewed in the research discussed in this paper valued professional intervention that was based on respect and warmth and on recognition of shared humanity. They wished for their voices to be heard and for schools to take account of their views. I have attempted in this paper to show why this should be done, both in the interests of individual young people and of creating a more socially just and inclusive education system,

The research

No academic work exists in isolation; it develops in dialogue with other researchers, with the grand theorists and with contemporary texts. The research reported in the nine papers included in this submission was all undertaken with colleagues. The six papers that have multiple authorship, however, all relate to research that was conceptualised, planned and directed by myself. I believe that it was ethically appropriate to include on the publications the names of those who contributed to the research, either in terms of data collection or analysis. All of my work, not just that included here, reflects discussion and argument with colleagues, in this University and beyond. The projects perhaps reflect a trend in research into inclusion described by Clough (2000). He sees a move towards research which is 'epistemic', bringing together different forms or disciplines of knowledge, eg psychology and sociology; methodological, bringing together and justifying a mix of research styles and ideologies; and collaborative (Clough 2000:29-30)

The research discussed in the submitted papers focusses on issues of deviance and difference at different levels, the national and authority policy level, the social contexts of school and special and mainstream schools. It explores how deviance is constructed, produced and labelled, mainly through listening to the views and the stories of individual subjects, although these are contextualised with data collected by more quantitative methods and in one study through analysis of press reporting on deviance.

Details of the research projects and the methods used are on pages 56-61

Methodological and epistemological issues

The methods employed in the projects discussed here, with the possible exception of that discussed in Paper 8 (see p 60) reflect my own epistemological position. I reject notions of social science investigation as parallel with an apparently neutral, value free natural science, able to describe and measure the real world with accuracy. I acknowledge that knowledge is produced by human beings, with feelings, histories, opinions and political beliefs. However I view these human producers of knowledge, as well as their research participants, as situated in structures of power, which both constrain and enable the ways in which they make sense of their lives and the lives of those researched (Armstrong et al 1998).

I set my research in the broad qualitative, interpretive tradition. An interpretive emphasis on understanding and meaning does not preclude a rigorous, systematic approach to methods, with an

appropriate concern for validity. I also identify strong influences from feminist research, particularly on the absence of thinking about women from much literature on deviance, about the centrality and value of feeling and on the inter-relatedness of the personal and the professional; also from some postmodern thinking, particularly around the concept of power. However I reject the postmodern view that all stories are of equal worth. While accepting that there will be a diversity of stories, I am unhappy with the endless relativism of postmodernism, *'The View from Nowhere and the Dream of Everywhere'* (Bordo 1990: 142) and the lack of way forward offered. I view research as part of a search for better ways of enabling education for all pupils, recognising that this is not part of an inevitable progress, that change may have different purposes for different individuals and groups, and should always be open to challenge and critique (Griffiths 1998; Clark et al 1998). I hold to the view that some knowledge is possible. *'Conversation as a goal is fine; understanding how power works in oppressive societies is important. But if we are to construct a new society we need to be assured that some systematic knowledge about our world and ourselves is possible'* (Hartsock 1990). I associate myself, perhaps, with the position of some feminist thinkers described by Harding, standing *'... with one foot in modernity and one in the lands beyond'* (Harding 1990; 100).

In rejecting positivism I nevertheless accept the value of some quantitative research, in relation to structural aspects that are to some extent open to measurement and analysis, therefore accepting some realism in my theoretical position. However these structures are themselves understood and experienced in different ways by individual social actors. A recent research report produced for the Educational Institute of Scotland, the largest Scottish teacher trade union (TESS 2002) exemplifies the importance of contextualising the points of view of individuals within a broader framework which pays attention to more quantitatively based data. It reported the view of many teachers that inclusion was creating more behaviour problems in schools because fewer children were being educated in special provision. National school census statistics however show about the same proportion of school population of Scotland being educated in special settings now as ten years ago. But the *beliefs* that this is *not* so are powerful and they contribute to the construction of the micropolitics of the school and to the discourse about inclusion in practice.

Discussion of these statistics is therefore important but so is a recognition that how the statistics are produced, the judgments made by school managers completing the census forms, the lack of clarity in the definitions of 'in' or 'out' of school provision, the retaining of absent pupils formally on the school roll, mean that they can not be claimed as straightforward or objectively constructed. However they form a key part of the multiple perspectives available on the issue. In the project

reported in Paper 1 many participants, for example policy makers and educational psychologists, school staff believed that the policy of reintegration to school was being implemented. No one in either of the two authorities had counted the (very small) numbers who did return, so equally no one investigated what the obstacles to the policy delivery might be.

The research described in Paper 8 reflects a different approach to research from the other projects in that the overall design was produced by the research team in response to a Scottish Office research brief for a national funded project. Thus the project reflects more of a methodological compromise, between the positions of the team, (led by a colleague, P Munn, with whom I was co-grant holder) and the demands of contract research. This research perhaps conforms most to Denzin and Lincoln's definition of postpositivism, making less assertive claims about representing objective reality than positivism and '*... relying on multiple methods as way of capturing as much of reality as possible.... traditional evaluation criteria, such as internal and external validity, are stressed...*' (Denzin and Lincoln 1998:9). Those taking this approach may gather statistics and make computer-based analyses, as we did in this project, in addition to case studies and individual interviewing. Paper 8 discusses my subsequent gender analysis of the data collected by the team during the project.

None of the projects discussed can make claims to generalisation, instead offering illumination. However, as I argue that the findings can have some significance for how we think about inclusion /exclusion and, by implication, an impact on practice, therefore I do accept that some (contested) knowledge can be generated. I accept the possibility of what Williams calls '*moderatum generalisations*' (2002:136) limited by the '*logical problems of inductive inference and ... the ontological problem of categorical equivalence*' (2002:139). He argues for a '*minimal form of realism... whereby our accounts of the world are regarded as substantial, reliable, yet incomplete and erroneous*' (2002:138-9). The existence of shared experiences and cultures means that the accounts produced by research indicate some 'realities' as experienced in relation to wider processes and structures.

So the methods described in these projects are informed by elements of social constructivism, feminism, structuralism and postmodernism, selected and combined to create my own developing view. This range of overlapping perspectives offers the possibility of theoretical complexity. The key elements are:

- *broadly interpretive*
- *strong voices and rich description*

- *multiple perspectives*
- *recognition of structural factors*
- *contextualisation of the voices/perspectives*
- *some quantitative as well as qualitative methods*
- *influence of theoretical ideas from literature*
- *engagement with the field studied*
- *concern for the politics, ethics of research processes*
- *reflexivity /acknowledgement of own views*

In this section I have tried to indicate my own epistemological and methodological position. In this next section I develop this further and discuss some ethical issues.

Ethics, politics and practicalities

The research discussed in these papers focusses on broad issues of inclusion and exclusion, largely through an exploration of the views of different groups of informants. Researching the stories of Travellers, disadvantaged young women, young people in trouble at school and at home raises questions to do with the political and moral relations of research. Many writers have criticised academic researchers for their exploitation of their research participants, for the appropriation or distortion of their voice, the powerful researcher and the powerless participant (Reynolds 2002).

Disabled researchers have claimed that non-disabled researchers ‘...*parasitise disabled people’s experience and develop careers on the back of disabled people’s lives*’ (Shakespeare 1996, cited in Allan et al 1998). Oliver, himself disabled, is also highly critical of research by non-disabled researchers, which objectifies and exploits disabled people (Oliver 1996). This argument can be most clearly made with respect to groups with clear disabilities. The social creationist perspective argued by Oliver based on the valuing of diversity, becomes much more problematic when we are talking about deviance rather than disability. In the field of special educational needs the notion of social, emotional and behavioural difficulties does not fit with this model. However the ethical issue of how researchers construct and relate to participants with different life experiences remains of strong concern.

Our research with Travellers equally raises this issue and parallels concerns about white researchers and black or other ethnic minority groups (Reynolds 2002; Skeggs 2002). In this project we were highly aware of the long histories of conflict between settled and Traveller groups leading to understandable suspicion by Travellers, particularly of officials. Access to Traveller research

participants was negotiated through gatekeepers (organisations and individuals with established relationships) and some interviewing of Show Traveller pupils was carried out by a Show Traveller (Papers 4,5). Concerns about the spurious giving of voice to other cultures (Skeggs 2002) are fundamental if in our telling of the stories of others we deny their opportunity to tell their own stories. The stories of Travellers excluded from school or bullied in the playground existed before the research but were not listened to or were not told to those who could make changes. I have felt it important to consider whether the gathering of data about other lives and cultures inevitably implies an assumed moral/social inequality between the researcher and the researched but, while recognising the dangers, agree with Skeggs (2002:363) that *'Most of us do research in order to learn from others, not to exploit and use them'*.

Who I am, my position in the structural relations of disability, sexuality, gender, race, class *'...does not necessarily give access to ways of knowing (although some standpoint theorists would argue that it helps...'* (Skeggs 2002:356). However it is clearly of significance to the process of research, particularly through interview relationships with participants. The response to these concerns offered by feminist and others depends on the process of reflexivity, variously defined, but almost always including a reflection on the power relations of research, care in representing the views of participants, adherence to an ethical standard and reflection on the values of the researcher (Griffiths 1998).

Some writers emphasise a disclosure of their own biographies *'...as part of an honest dialogue...'* (Griffiths 1998). The work represented here does reflect my biography and those of colleagues with whom I have worked but I reject the view that moves research/writing into an autobiographical self reflection, my work authorised only by who I am (Skeggs 2002). However I accept that the knower is inevitably implicated in the construction of the known (May 2002:2) and that it is not *'enough for researchers to assert their own subjectivity without also understanding the production of that subjectivity itself'* (Walkerdine et al 2002:179). As researchers we are, as I argued earlier, part of a social and economic production of research and writing, as well as negotiated selves situated in gendered relations of power. Awareness and reflection on these relations are important

Interviews were central to these projects, an approach which is familiar to research participants, from the mass media and, in the case of professionals from their own practice and of young people also from their interactions with professionals. The latter may be a major drawback and therefore requires care in presenting a very open approach to interviewing so that it does not replicate previous negative experiences. Interviewing in all the projects discussed here was on the basis of a

topic guide, a checklist drawn up on the basis on prior reading, reflection and reviewed /amended sometimes in the research process. Interviewing in qualitative research '*...is the art of construction rather than excavation...*', *it is about asking, listening and interpretation as part, not just of data gathering but of the theoretical process*' (Mason 2002:227). The age, social class and approach and theoretical assumptions of the interviewer do have an impact on the interviewing relationship.

I am a middle-aged white woman with a generic Scottish middle class accent. I began as a sociology postgraduate student, convinced that understanding the social world better would enable us to change it. My postgraduate work on the 'role of the teacher' identified the teachers' concern for order and control as central to their discussion of their work. I chose to take my first teaching post in a residential school for delinquent boys, not because I believed in the value of segregated education -I did not know those arguments then - but because the school was managed on relatively democratic lines with daily decision-making meetings involving all the pupils and staff, and because unlike most Scottish schools it did not use physical punishment. My professional and research work since, such as that outlined in these papers, has been permeated with the dilemma about how to change the (educational) world but also to make it better for those who are particularly disadvantaged now.

I have worked as a teacher and groupworker in a range of settings with young people labelled as deviant. I also have a Counselling certificate and a commitment to a style of interaction with young people that is informal and based on respect. My research is founded in ideas of social justice (Griffiths 1998). My practice as well as my research with young people and their families indicates that many have found it both interesting and useful to talk about themselves and their histories with an adult who values their stories and who communicates a valuing of themselves as human beings of worth. The maintenance of reflexivity was enhanced in the projects discussed in this paper through working with colleagues, where discussion and challenge promoted a more explicit and negotiated ethical position, which paid '*... attention to power, practice and process*' (Skeggs 2002:368).

The issues and concerns discussed above about exploitation of research participants are still, however, heightened when researching children. Some young people, particularly the young women discussed in Papers 2 and 3 talked of highly distressing life experiences. At times some young people were confused or upset. To interview young people can seem like interfering in their lives - to talk about your life is to structure it, to affect your own reflections. Writing about the ethics of interviewing tends to identify three aspects - informed consent, the right to privacy and

protection from harm (Denzin and Lincoln 1998). In these projects it was particularly important to foreground these issues, to hold them up for constant reflection, rather than to consider them, and then regard them as resolved, at the beginning of projects.

One issue which is of particular importance here is child protection and the importance of making it clear to young people that new disclosure of abuse would be passed on, with their knowledge and to a preferred adult. This has never been necessary, although sadly many young people in research in which I have been involved have talked about histories of abuse. I and colleagues have now developed a clear way of writing about this in leaflets for research participants which also outline their rights not to be interviewed and to anonymity. A further issue of concern involves some requests for support and advice. It seems really important to make it clear that the researchers are offering a brief relationship that cannot be sustained. I do offer suggestions, when directly asked and where appropriate, for other support. I believe that there is an ethical obligation to provide this, even though this may influence the research outcomes. This has not happened often, but does occur, for example a young woman asking about educational places for young mothers.

This section has explored methodological issues raised by the research projects discussed in the group of papers submitted. I argued that the papers address issues of inclusion and exclusion, largely through an exploration of the views of different groups of informants, young people and those professionals who work with them and make decisions about them. The projects raised questions about political and moral relations of research. In the next section I argue that these stories of teachers, professionals and young people are particularly important in exploring issues of structure and agency.

Stories of persons and structures

I understand the social world to be structured in terms of social class, social divisions based on economic and social inequality, and characterised by conflict between competing interests, but also see gender and ethnicity as important mediating factors. I recognise, however, that these structural factors have often been described as operating in a narrowly determinist way. So one key issue is how these wide structural factors operate at the level of the school or in individual histories or biographies - how they interact /interrelate with understandings of agency and social interaction.

'And all stories are related to matters of power, race, sex and class and the struggles people have in telling each other how we might live together'

(Blaikie 1993:214).

In Paper 3 I argued for '...an understanding that acknowledges the complex interweaving of structure and agency in the lives of disadvantaged young women.' (Paper 3:78). This complex interweaving requires an equally complex set of ideas to draw on, to make sense of different times and situations. So, in the discussion that follows, I have drawn on a range of theoretical perspectives that will be fragmented, which will overlap, which will make more sense, contribute more to understanding, in some situations than others. This does not constitute self-indulgent eclecticism (Slee 1995) but recognition of the inter-related character of social situations and human relationships. The key to the theorising is in exploring the enmeshing - how the mix works in practice, which varies from situation to situation, from the classroom to the policy forum or to the family.

The recognition of structured inequality provides a historically situated context for individual actions. This means that I have acknowledged a level of realism in my position, in that I see the possibilities for action by individuals as constrained by these structural factors. However these factors may be understood and experienced in different ways by different actors, each creating their own view of 'reality'. So the meaning of the world for individuals is socially constructed. The possibilities for individual action are affected *both* by the wider structural factors and by the reciprocal social construction of meaning by actors in social settings. I see the concept of power as central to the working of these wider structural factors but also, to the settings, such as school and family, where social identities are constructed. I am using the concept of power, therefore as complex and as productive as well as repressive. I see this understanding of power as helpful in understanding how social and economic inequalities are reproduced in practice. Power is not

random, structural factors and human actions affect and constrain the way the mix works in practice and how it impacts on the individual subject In the next section I will look at the use of power in understanding how deviance and conformity are constructed in school.

Choosing to 'behave' in school

There is a focus in all nine papers on how deviance is constructed, produced and labelled in school. Paper 4 argued for the unpacking of school practices, and in particular those practices which represent the exercise of power, informal as well as formal, in normalising social relationships in school. It suggests that deviance in school can be understood both in terms of the breaking of formal rules and the visible power of the formal disciplinary structures but also in conflict with the more complex processes that produce the 'well behaved' pupil. It also links the production of deviance through the structures and processes of the operation of power in school, with the wider factors of social inequality, ethnicity and gender. The 'well behaved pupil', boy or girl, does not simply behave because of a visible system of rewards and sanctions - they choose to be 'well behaved' and they participate in the processes that define and redefine acceptable actions. Of course in the complex and shifting world of schools pupils may move in and out of 'well behaved' or deviant identities as they also move, or are moved, in and out of participation in class or school through the operation of formal and informal exclusionary processes.

I have drawn on the insights generated by the symbolic interactionist perspectives, particular in their development of the idea of labelling and the ways in which talk constitutes social life. However these perspectives are limited by their inability to deal with issues of power and by their failure to situate social interaction within wider histories and structures. Foucault's conceptions of power are useful in making sense of the interweaving of individual meanings and the structures within which they are located. This understanding of power as not fixed, but mobile, creative as well as repressive and historically changing, is helpful in addressing the changing and shifting dynamics of institutions like schools and families. Understanding these processes in schools draws on Foucault's conceptualising of power in the production of the pupils who want/choose to behave and those who are construed as deviant. He described the production of the individual as subject; subject to others through control and restraint but also subject through their own identity through conscience and self knowledge (Foucault 1982)

Allan argues that Foucault '*...is significant to the study of special education in to respects. First, his analyses of discipline and punishment, medicine and madness have relevance.... (and)... his methodology or 'box of tools ... makes it possible to analyse both the official discourses on special*

needs and those operating within schools and classrooms' (Allan 1999: 18). Several writers have made the connection between Foucault's ideas and the working of special education. Some, for example Thomas and Loxley (2001), in their critique of schooling and what sounds like a 'conspiracy' approach to special education (bad professionals imposing their destructive diagnoses in their own interests), have employed his idea of power in its more pessimistic reading as only negative and destructive, rather than as also productive. An understanding of the micro politics of schools and of professional decision-making should however see power and resistance to power as part of the same interrelated process. In an earlier study of young women in 'bother' at school I argued that they were both 'powerless and powerful', negotiating their relationships with other pupils and teachers, '... both creative and restricted in their lives' (Lloyd 1992:223). In Paper 4 the everyday practices of schools in producing normalised 'behaviour', are related to the values of the sedentary, dominant classes. *'Through our power, we attempt to get children to accept certain values, to aspire to certain futures for themselves, and to accept and understand their own strengths and limitations'* (Furlong 1991:298 cited in Paper 4).

Critical sociological discussion of disciplinary power in education (in both the traditional school use of discipline and its Foucauldian sense), such as Slee (1995) and Thomas and Loxley (2001) has tended to offer an image of the pupil either as hero resister or as victim of the self interested professionals, powerless to resist their transformation from 'naughty' to 'mad'. The latter is paralleled in the psycho-medical literature by the image of the 'disturbed' pupil with ADHD, represented as controlled by their disorder and victim of insensitive teachers who label him (usually male) 'bad'. Both models tend to underplay agency. A more complex reading of the play of power in schools allows for a more creative understanding of the interlinking of structure and agency. In the following sections I develop this further, with a particular focus on the construction and use of labels.

Unable to 'behave' in school?

Labels like ADHD offer a special status to young people (Paper 6). In the analysis of press coverage in the project discussed in this paper parents indicated that this diagnosis saved them from blame, from being branded 'bad' (Paper 6:120). In research in England, by Maras and colleagues, children with 'EBD' (Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties) were seen by teachers to be choosing to behave badly whereas those with ADHD may be seen to have no choice (Maras et al 1997). In most literature however the concept of EBD is itself set against the idea of simply 'bad' behaviour, for example in the DfE document quoted in Paper 6 (120). Agency for 'EBDs' is often denied in favour of a biological or psychological determinism.

The dominant perspective on EBD is informed by psycho-medical assumptions which both fail to recognise the social context of the production of labels and the power processes involved in the social construction of deviance but *also* tend to deny agency and individual subject consciousness to the pupil determined by their disorder. Their transgression is inadvertent, not deliberate or conscious. In contrast some of the more sociologically influenced writing, as discussed above, may interpret their actions as resistance to oppressive structures and deny any biological or psychological influences (Thomas and Loxley 2001; Slee 1995). Writers such as Cooper talk of the 'range of EBDs in schools' and 'severe EBDs', indicating an understanding of the term that locates these difficulties within young people (Cooper 1999).

In Scotland the term used is Social, Emotional or Behavioural Difficulties, in England EBD (although interestingly the research review produced by Cooper for Barnardos in 2001 on 'what works' uses 'SEBD'). The term SEBD was used in the papers submitted here as a label, as 'an administrative category rather than an individual psychopathology' (Paper 2:69), with no official definition but dependent on subjective professional judgement, often negotiated in relation to the specific interests of school or educational psychologist or pupil. In this commentary I mainly use (S)EBD when discussing the idea, since the context of the research projects was Scottish (SEBD) but the academic and practice literature almost always uses the English term (EBD). There may be some differences between the Scottish and English conceptualisation and use in practice of the term and this is mentioned in the submitted papers (and discussed in Lloyd et al 2001). However there is little other distinctively separate Scottish research literature. In this commentary, therefore, I use the form (S)EBD, to denote the concept as used broadly in both Scotland and England.

'(S)EBDs'

'The causes of EBD are many and varied, with increasing attention being paid to biological factors' (Cooper 2001:18).

Official writing about (S)EBD in Britain has shifted over the last twenty years but the concept has always been a slippery one. In the review mentioned above, Cooper, currently the most prolific and probably the most influential writer on this topic in Britain, quotes Rutter and Smith's (1995) work on psychosocial disorders and equates it with the concept of (S)EBD. *'International trends in the prevalence of a wide range of EBD, such as crime, substance abuse, depression, suicide and self injurious behaviour, are at an all-time high and are increasing most rapidly in the 12-24 age group'* (Cooper 2001:5). He continues by quoting the estimate of Young Minds that at least 10% (and possibly 20%) of school age children *'...experience clinically significant levels of social,*

emotional and behavioural difficulties...' (Cooper 2001:5). So he assumes that (S)EBD is the same as psychosocial disorder and that they are both individual difficulties measurable in terms of 'clinical' significance. Crime is also in this view an (S)EBD. Cooper goes on to discuss the wide range of 'behavioural manifestations' found in schools, moving from low level disruptiveness in the classroom to 'disturbed behaviour'. This document exemplifies the confusion in the use of these terms in this field (Cooper 2001).

Paper 1 describes the confusion of labels used by professionals interviewed in this project on reintegration. Terms like SEBD, maladjusted, disruptive, disturbed, phobic, hyperactive were used in various contexts with a range of implied meanings but without agreement on definition in a kind of 'loose labelling' (Paper 1 and 8). A more recent project, not submitted for this thesis, on inter-agency working to prevent school exclusion also found a considerable level of confusion in the use of such labels (Lloyd et al 2001).

One often made distinction is between '...disruptive behaviour that appears unacceptable to teachers, and that which indicates some individual psychological difficulty on the part of the child...' (Paper 1:66). In the 1980s and 1990s there was an increasing literature that focussed on the former, based first in behavioural and subsequently in cognitive behavioural psychology mixed with an element of social constructivism. Often developed by educational psychologists, and sometimes taking the form of applied packages for schools, this literature focussed on the contribution of curriculum, pedagogy and school organisation to varying levels of 'disruptiveness' (Gray et al 1994; Munn et al 1998). Cooper sees this in terms of nature/nurture arguing that psychologists and educationalists have opted for nurture, reluctant to perceive '*individual within-child factors at work in given cases of EBDs*' (Cooper 1999:229 & 231).

In the 1990s rising numbers of pupils excluded from school provided a context for analyses which focussed on school factors which appeared to influence varying rates of exclusion and promote inclusion (Parsons 1999; Cooper et al 2000; Munn et al 2000). The emphasis was on school ethos, praise and reward systems and classroom management and was often related to broader ideas of school improvement. The focus of this work was school and classroom behaviour as a generality, rather than the actions or psychology of individual pupils. The aim was to promote 'positive discipline' and to avoid low level indiscipline, the 'drip drip' of talking out of turn and annoying other children which various research reports had suggested was of most concern to teachers (Munn et al 1998). So in the last 20-30 years there has been a developing professional focus on school

processes rather than individuals but at the same time, in parallel, a continued literature on (S)EBD with an individual focus (Laslett et al 1998; Cole et al 1998).

Naming for placing

The young people in the schools involved in the project discussed in Paper 1 had been placed through different systems of decision making, each with their own legislative and policy base and their own professional labels for deviance in school and/or the community. In practice there was considerable overlap between the systems and some labels were redefined or selected in order to gain access to particular provision. '*Problems* were shaped by what was on offer' (Paper 1:67). The shifting use of terminology in relation to provision is also discussed in Paper 7. The uneasy, frequent movement between welfare based approaches for young people who were sinned against (the disadvantaged) and punishment for those responsible for their actions (the offenders) can be seen in the history of residential schools (Paper 7).

Foucault in *Madness and Civilisation* quotes the founding aim of the Hopital Generale in Paris as the prevention of '*mendicancy and idleness as sources of all disorder*' (Foucault 1971:57), introducing the 'mad' into the existing institutional approach to the poor. Young people in the Hopital, as in their contemporary residential schools in Scotland, were to work as hard as their strengths permitted, read pious books, and be taught a useful occupation (Paper 7). '*For the first time, institutions of morality were established in which an astonishing synthesis of moral obligation and civil law is effected*' (Foucault 1971:60). The placing into institutions of the mad and children of the profligate poor was based on a process of 'naming', which Foucault described in terms of the technologies of differentiation - classifying, disciplining, analysing and normalising.

The occupants of the asylums, like the special day and residential schools for (S)EBD of today, were sometimes seen to be hapless victims of poverty and sometimes to be active in the construction of their own downfall; now in the 21st century sometimes to be suffering from psychosocial disorders and sometimes excluded for deliberate disruption. Discussion of deviance in school tends to shift between explanations in terms of biologically determined and psychologically defined madness and structurally determined poverty or between an active construction of disaffection and a learned response to a stimulus.

Young people and teachers respond and negotiate themselves in relation to the operation of power in schools, they are defined as good or bad or maladjusted pupils through the dividing practices of disciplinary processes. Discipline has two senses, both particularly relevant to this discussion, the

first implying control and sometimes also punishment, the second a body of knowledge and theory. Disciplinary power accords a person a space within an institution and a rank within a system (Danaher et al 2000). Disciplinary knowledge is evident in expert discourses and through them can become a force for control. Foucault argued, however, that although discourse transmits and produces power, it also undermines and exposes it making it possible to thwart it (Foucault 1976).

Staff in mainstream schools in Paper 1, in resisting the reintegration of the young people from the special provision, used a discourse of special needs to argue that such pupils required more than they could offer. Galloway and colleagues connected this kind of resistance to the pressures of multiple educational policy change in England (Galloway et al 1994). A perspective 'which defines children's difficulties in terms of individual disturbance serves to remove the responsibility for the child from hard pressed mainstream teachers' (Paper 1:67). So both teachers and pupils while subject to power can also exercise power in their own interests.

Resisting and reputations

In discussing the exclusionary processes of schools in Paper 4, the essence of power was discussed in its ability not only to produce pupils who conform but also to exclude those who resist being 'produced' (Paper 4:107). Paper 4 addresses the issues of deliberate vs. involuntary transgression of the cultural norms of mainstream education, arguing that sometimes Gypsy Travellers misread or may not see the signals but that they may, as other pupils may, choose to transgress the boundaries. (The young man who peed in the cooking bowl in home economics knew what the consequences were likely to be!) Transgression '*allows individuals to shape their own identities, by subverting the norms which compel them to repeatedly perform as gendered or disabled subjects...*' (Allan 1999:48). Travellers' transgression in school sometimes allowed them to resist the notion of the desirability or indeed the compulsion of schooling.

Teachers sometimes valued Travellers in their efforts to reduce difference and to produce themselves as like the others.

"He's integrated no problem, you wouldn't really take him as Travelling people..."

"They were very acceptable, they were nicely dressed they turned up nice, they didn't make themselves different in any way...They were actually very clean and tidy...they didn't make themselves out to be tinker girls" (Paper 5:113-114).

The young Travellers interviewed however saw themselves as different and experienced this difference in constant and routinised name-calling. Padfield discusses reputations, as referring to '*... a person's social credibility by drawing upon knowledge of where that person lives, about their*

family and about their cultural, ethnic background' (Padfield 2000:164). She saw a blurring between 'official' labels, formal statements with consequences for pupils, and reputations which are more informally constituted but which may interact with and be influenced by the official. Mandy in Paper 2 felt labelled with the reputation of her family, many of who had been in trouble at school. Ann described difficulties in resisting her reputation as being "...up for the laugh and it was the pressure from my peers to say something funny or do something..." (Paper 2:73). For the Travellers the informal name-calling of 'tinko' or 'dirty Gypsy', reflecting wider cultural assumptions, sometimes led to violent retaliation in the playground which in its turn led to disciplinary exclusion and the construction of an 'official' label (Papers 4 and 5).

Official labels

The range of labels used by professionals to describe the actions of young people considered to be deviant in school was discussed earlier. These labels are produced through a discourse of disciplinary knowledge that is constituted of a complex mixture of professional, theoretical and personal perspectives. Thomas and Loxley suggest that teachers and others working in relation to young people identified as deviant in school draw on a '*...morass of half-understood ideas about disturbance, a jumble of bits and pieces from psychoanalysis, psychology and psychiatry, a bricolage of penis envy and cognitive dissonance, of Freudian slip and standard deviation, of motivation and maternal deprivation, regression and repression, attention-seeking and assimilation, reinforcement and self-esteem - ideas corrupted by textbook writers and mangled by journalists and writers of popular culture*' (2001:54). This rather nicely written paragraph dismisses the knowledge of practitioners, apparently unable to be self reflective in their professional practice, a skill presumably restricted to a few academics.

The research reported in the papers submitted does indicate that professionals, involved in the labelling and processing of young people as deviant, draw on a range of theoretical models and use labels that are ill defined and confused. Tomlinson, and others subsequently, criticised the notion of the benevolent professional in demonstrating the ways in which professional decision-making in special education was structured in terms of race, gender and class (Tomlinson 1982). Tomlinson's work effectively deconstructed '*...special education in terms of the social 'process' which lies behind it*' (Clark et al 1998:161). Subsequent literature in this tradition, like Thomas and Loxley, has tended to replace the benevolent with the deluded or maliciously intended professional maintaining an individualistic model of (S)EBD to sustain their own professional interests.

This seems as simplistic as the old benevolent professional. The professionals involved in constructing expert discourses do so in a complex and shifting context. If we accept that they are not benevolent professionals applying disinterested knowledge in an objective way then we need a more satisfactory understanding of professional labelling and decision-making. Teachers, social workers and educational psychologists operate in the micropolitics of schools and councils, subject to national, local and school policy making. They have career and other interests, views, opinions, preferences, relationships and their own theoretical perspectives on deviance and appropriate responses to this. They experience pressure from colleagues, from young people, their parents and from others with interests in promoting a particular view from the Daily Express to the pharmaceutical industry (Paper 4). A necessary recognition here is that the process of identification and labelling of individual young people is part of a range of social processes at different levels of complex structural forces from the individual to the state. In the following sections I move from discussing the complex construction of labels to focus on the particular label of ADHD and to develop a critique of the concept of the biopsychosocial and the 'new medical model'.

Individualising public issues

Paper 5 observed that school staff tended to see name-calling, including that of Travellers, as an individual issue and argued for a reconnecting of public and private dimensions (Troyna and Vincent 1992). The literature on bullying tends to be written within an individual psychological perspective, focussing on the characteristics of bully, victim and bystander (Paper 5:104). The normalising process of schools in undermining difference and connecting with dominant cultures is evident here in the language of the other pupils, learned in their families and neighbourhoods. So the 'dirty Gypsies' themselves become the problem. Disciplinary exclusion as a violent response to name-calling '... while ostensibly a behavioural issue, is inherently connected to a broader social-exclusion of particular groups of pupils, in relation to class, disadvantage, ethnicity and gender' (Paper 4:95). The normalising power of schools is shown in their dividing practices - individual needs are constructed as different or special.

Paper 4 quotes Furlong who argues that the educational structures of the school, in their production of 'ability', occupational identities and value positions, contribute to the construction of pupils' *'subjectivity as well as their public identity - their 'legitimate' differences. In each case there are positive and negative opportunities. Through interacting with these structures pupils can come to feel valued, have a sense of achievement and a sense of loss.'* (Furlong 1991:304). I found this article still valuable in that it explores the failure of the sociology of educational deviance to

successfully challenge the continued dominance in education of *'the individualised psychologically oriented approach'*. He quotes Connell (1987) who identified two forms of occupational blindness, the *'inability of sociologists to recognise the complexities of the person and the unwillingness of psychologists to recognise the dimension of social power'* (1991:293).

The biopsychosocial approach

The biopsychosocial represents an attempt by writers from a psychological tradition (in education principally Cooper) to address criticisms of the individualistic focus of the literature on (S)EBD (Cooper 1999; 2001). This concept has been much used recently in an educational context with respect to (S)EBD and particularly in the increasing literature on ADHD but comes from a medical/health discourse. The term has an initial attractiveness in the broad possibilities it seems to offer for a theoretical synthesis, or at least to be able to draw on different theoretical bases. It has sometimes been used in this way, for example in a paper on gambling which explores the sociological dimensions of the phenomenon before discussing the various psychological models of explanation (Griffiths and Delfabbro 2001). However more frequently it is used to offer an additional dimension to a still limited, individualistic model, for example in a discussion of pain one author argues that the biopsychosocial represents *'... an alternative to the predominant biomedical model' which sees pain as entirely medical in origin whereas the biopsychosocial is a holistic model where 'mind and body are seen as automatically intertwined'* (Hanson read 2002:1). So the biopsychosocial model in medical contexts recognises, reasonably, that the course of illness is affected by the psychology and social context of the individual. However it does not offer a critical perspective on what we mean by illness.

Cooper applies the biopsychosocial idea in addressing the debate over ADHD. He criticises Slee's dismissal of ADHD as the medicalising of naughtiness, arguing that biomedical and psychosocial understandings can combine powerfully and synthesise the best of current conceptualisations of EBD (Cooper 1999). *'The substance of this argument should be that while biology create propensities for certain social and behavioural outcomes, biology is always mediated by environment and culture'* (Cooper 1999:239). The biopsychosocial perspective therefore still constructs the condition of (S)EBD as internal to the individual, affected by that individual's interactions but still as a fixed, and often assumed to be measurable, condition. As such then the disorders may still be addressed by technologies, deriving from a psycho-medical approach.

This approach does not acknowledge the complex processes of defining deviance, does not see the development of the concept of (S)EBD in the construction of normality. The biopsychosocial is still

part of a medical gaze (Fox 1993). (Fox (1993:31) suggests that in some views the concept has now been replaced by the 'psychoneuroimmunological' that provides a 'medical gaze which is universal and holistic'. However it may be some time before this is discovered by education). Through the medical gaze the effects of power are inscribed on the bodies of the children, through labels constructed in expert disciplinary knowledge. The biopsychosocial extends the gaze to a wider context, the individual in their family and social context, but does not alter the nature of the gaze.

The biopsychosocial and ADHD.

The dominant knowledge in the discussion of ADHD has been rooted in the idea of the biologically determined abnormal. In this view ADIID is a neurobiological condition, a medical label that is positive for children in that it both offers forgiveness, as discussed earlier but also access to effective medication. *'Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) is an internationally recognised medical condition of brain dysfunction, in which individuals have problems in inhibiting inappropriate behaviour and controlling impulses, so giving rise to educational, behavioural and other difficulties'* (Kewley 1999:23). Or, in the critical literature, it is the control of naughtiness through a medical gaze, a soft category, a quasi-medical diagnosis (Slee 1995, Thomas and Loxley 2001). *'The identification of this supposed 'disorder' and the willingness of both medics and educators to want to treat it with drugs provide a case study of the readiness ever to seek a clinical, even physiological root for children's problems'* (Thomas and Loxley 2001:126).

The ADHD literature is in general very positive about the idea of labels, they offer hope and effective intervention. *'At a more fundamental level, an informed diagnosis of ADHD challenges the deeply embedded, pernicious belief that deviant behaviour in young people is always either primarily volitional in nature or the product of neglectful or deviant parenting'* (Cooper 2000:599). Labels in this sense are not seen to be stigmatising, rather they validate the concerns of parents or teachers without imputing blame. The only alternative to the diagnosis of ADHD is, according to Cooper to blame the child, to see their actions as 'volitional' choosing to be bad, or to blame the parents, 'neglectful or deviant parenting'.

Such labels denote which professional knowledge constructs them, and to some extent which professionals are in control (Paper 6). ADHD 'creates a professional discourse, which is excluding. This makes it difficult to challenge by the lay person or by other professionals who do not have access to this specialised discourse' (Paper 6:121). It elevates the status of some 'experts'. However at the same time increased access by parents to information about 'conditions' like ADHD and a growth in organised pressure, in the context of a developing culture of individual responsibility for health, has created a more challenging client group, with an increased emphasis

on a right to diagnosis (Norris and Lloyd 2000). Maras and others in the work mentioned earlier, question whether teachers claiming not to be expert, not doctors, allowed the teachers to dissociate themselves personally and thus professionally from the label ADHD (Maras et al 1997; Norris and Lloyd 2000). This connects with the argument, mentioned earlier, that policy changes and their impact on education may create a resistance in some teachers, which may be partly expressed in a wish to transfer responsibility onto external experts (Galloway et al 1994).

Paper 6 also identified other benefits of labels, for example the financial benefit for families when the diagnosis of ADHD was made. Equally there may be a financial benefit for schools in attracting of funding for special educational needs, where audit based funding depends on the identification of more medical sounding conditions, rather than those associated with disadvantage. 'Syndromes means funds' (Paper 6:127). Dyson and others have observed the 'colonisation' of mainstream schools by special education staff in theory working to transform the schools, *'in practice they are constantly under pressure to reproduce the traditional features of special education'* (Dyson 1997, cited in Paper 6:127). Here notions of individual deficit become part of the politics of resource allocation, political rather than psychological (Corbett and Norwich 1997) and *'...needs talk functions as a medium for the making and contesting of political claims'* (Fraser 1989:163)

So medical labels seem to have a financial and apparently more powerful explanatory power than other labels. ADHD is a clear example of what Cohen and colleagues in the USA, call the 'rational use of drugs' paradigm (Cohen et al 2001). The prescription rate of medication is affected by much more than the apparent incidence of ADHD and the availability of the medication. *'Medications themselves are much more than material objects with physiological effects; they are also representations that carry meanings and shape social relations as they evolve in conjunction with individuals and collectivities...'* (Cohen et al 2001: 442). In the USA the 'new medical model' has recently been promoted, with similarities to the biopsychosocial promoted in Britain by Cooper (Forness and Kavale 2001, Cooper 2001).

The new medical model

The new medical model, advocated recently in a paper in the American journal *Behavioural Disorders* by Forness and Kavale (2001), is based on the observation that when 'the old medical model' was discarded, *'special educators struggling with the challenging behaviors of children with emotional and behavioral disorders (E/BD) came to rely on functional behavioral analysis and positive behavior support as the sole strategy available for diagnosis and treatment. The new medical model adds to the classroom behavioral armamentarium a contemporary, largely*

biological, conceptual framework that emphasizes the role of psychopharmacology in the treatment of E/BD (Oswald 2002:155).

The new medical model reasserts the disciplinary supremacy of medical professionals, rejecting the conceptualisations and strategies developed by educators. The analysis of press coverage of ADHD in Britain suggested that there was a hierarchy of experts and that GPs and educational professionals were not frequently quoted (Paper 6; Norris and Lloyd 2000). Schools do not have the resources to diagnose and prescribe and are dependent on hospital based psychiatrists and pediatricians. Kewley calls for a screening for ADHD at an early age in schools as well as for a range of other 'conditions', SEBD, dyslexia and so on. (Kewley 1999). ADHD is itself considered to be co-morbid with a range of other 'disorders' - 60-70% of those diagnosed with ADHD are thought have one or more co-existing conditions, some of these, like ADHD, imported from the American DSM IV (see discussion of this in Paper 6). Oppositional Defiant Disorder, Conduct Disorder, Depression, Bipolar Disorder, Tourette's, Obsessive Compulsive Disorder, Dyslexia, Asperger's (Kewley 1999).

Thus the concept of ADHD is widened to relate to a whole raft of psychosocial problems, involving complex 'cocktails' of medication, not simply those like methylphenidate hydrochloride often recommended for ADHD. *'...current ways of seeing EBD are retreating to an account of the culpable individual, pathology or neurology in a way that provide a partial view of the possibilities for intervention'* (Daniels 2001: 119). The new medical model in the USA and the biopsychosocial in Britain clearly can be criticised in that the labels are constructed to focus on the individual and therefore avoid scrutiny of the school environment. The difficulties of children and young people are constructed out of *'...assumptions about deficit, weakness, disturbance or vulnerability'* (Thomas and Loxley 2001:88).

Gresham in a critique of the new medical model of 'E/BD' agrees with Paper 6 that the reasoning involved in explaining disorders like ADHD is tautologous (Gresham 2002) 'Children have it because they show the behaviours which define it' (Paper 6). Gresham quotes Carson's view that *'psychiatrists continue to view problematic behaviors as manifestations of a generalised, mysterious intrinsic property- much like a virus - that exists within individuals whose behaviour meet certain classification criteria'* (Gresham 2002:159). The procedures for exclusion /suspension from school in the USA, require a consideration of whether the behaviour considered by the school to be unacceptable is a manifestation of their 'emotional disability' (Munn et al 2000). Gresham suggests that this produces a conceptual quandary in 'manifestation determination' hearings when

'school personnel involved must decide whether a student's problem behavior was or was not due to his or her emotional disability' (Gresham 2002:159). This difficulty follows from a conceptualisation of difficulties as disease, the disease 'causes' the behaviour so are all actions therefore a manifestation of the disease, however if this is so the behaviour must be understood and therefore cannot be punished.

The next sections return to the centrality of the processes of labelling in disciplinary processes in school and then move on to consider how these are gendered.

Dividing practices

School regimes of regulation and punishment involve complex mixture of disciplinary processes, a range of dividing practices through constructed binary judgements. You are either normal or abnormal, are mad or sane. This brings us back to the binariness of much of the conceptualisation of (S)EBD. If it consists of a fixed measurable condition, then you either have it or you don't. This then conflicts with other models, such as those underpinning the formal systems of discipline and disciplinary exclusion in school, which operate in terms of 'behaviour' that is acceptable or unacceptable, good or bad, innocent or culpable.

Some commentators are currently suggesting a significant shift from 'naughty' to psychological explanations and some shift in this direction *is* apparent in the new medical and the biopsychosocial models (Slee 1995, 1998, Thomas and Loxley 2001, Gresham 2002; Cooper 2001). However this seems too simple; a review of the history of theory and practice with young people defined as deviant suggests that they have always been intertwined, coming and going, separating and then overlapping (Paper 7). The power of different professional groups shifts and is reconstructed, as argued earlier, in terms of their own professional interests, theoretical perspectives, personal lives as well as changes in the socioeconomic context of their work and the legislative and policy context. The jumble of jargon / 'loose labelling' identified in the process of labelling young people reflects the complexity of the labels - who gets labelled, which in turn reflects who does the labelling and affects the impact of labelling on pupils. *'Whose interests do particular labels serve and what are the structural conditions leading to the attachment of certain labels to given groups?'* (Riddell 1996:12).

Tutt, on the basis of his research in the 1970s, suggested that a lack of professional consensus over the meaning of labels and the structure of decision-making led to almost untrammelled professional discretion (Tutt 1984 cited in paper 7:137). His research suggested that there was a fortuitousness

in placements of young people, whether they were labelled as in need of care depended on their location or the interests and opinions of their individual educational psychologist, or whether they first entered the social welfare or the education decision-making system. The research reported in Paper 1 also indicated a similar level of fortuitousness, undermining assumptions that the professional decision-making about (S)EBD identified the young people most 'in need' of special provision. Research into exclusion from school also suggested that a range of factors to do with the school, its pastoral care and professional decision-making were involved in constructing disciplinary exclusion rates (Paper 8). The shift in national and local policy involved in the development of youth strategies in the 1980s when funding was withdrawn from the Scottish List D schools led to a redefining of difficulties in young people as the numbers placed in residential schools for the 'maladjusted' rose in equal numbers to the reduction of those placed in List D schools (Paper 7). So the label of need was reconstructed. In the case of ADHD Paper 6 argues that it 'would be understandable if teachers, as well as parents, looking for scarce resources for this group were to look for ways in which they could justify their arguments by minimising the social disadvantage and emphasising individual need' (Paper 6:128).

As I have argued the labelling process involves a complex process involving a range of professionals, pupils, and parents negotiating with varying power in a context of shifting conceptualisations of deviance and diverse policy and legislation. The professionals involved come from a range of different contexts - education, support services such as educational psychology, social work and health. Policy and legislation in relation to education, social welfare, health and justice overlap and affect each other in practice. Definitions of need vary but also overlap in both legislation and in practice (Lloyd et al 2001).

'Young people presenting behaviour which is regarded as unacceptable will usually be responded to on a random and uncoordinated basis by one or more of four professional systems: education, health, criminal justice and social services' (O'Neill 2001: 49). Council documents, on the other hand, in Scotland talk of careful inter-disciplinary assessment and joint decision making (Lloyd et al 2001). In Paper 1 and Papers 2 and 3 young people were placed in a range of settings, funded by education and/or social work. The common feature was a professional decision that they 'needed' to be educated in a separate setting, from unit in mainstream school, special unit or school, residential school or secure. The placements reflected all the complexity of factors discussed earlier, in terms of those involved in the labelling process, and also more straightforward factors such as the provision available in the council and the funding available for out of council placements, particularly in expensive secure accommodation.

The proportion of young women in special provision of this kind is usually about a quarter of the total population, whether educationally funded or social work funded, although the proportion placed in secure provision has at times been higher (Papers 1 and 9; Maras and Cooper 1999; O'Neill 2001). Girls are also excluded from school in similar proportions. What is clear in the professional decision-making and placement process is that in Scotland and in England young people excluded from school for similar actions or referred for similar welfare concerns might end up in very different settings (Cole et al 1998; Brodie 2001; Papers 1, 7 and 8). Gendered assumptions about deviance are key dimensions of this process. Dividing practices work to separated the deviant from the normal. Both are gendered concepts.

Gendered practices

So production of conformity, and of deviance, in school is gendered. Young women may be viewed as 'better behaved' but also both more vulnerable and more wicked than young men (Paper 9). In Papers 8 and 9 I argued that the research /thinking about gendered decision-making in the juvenile justice system was useful in developing an understanding of processes in relation to educational deviance. The young women in the research reported in Papers 2 and 3 had been involved in a range of labelling and decision making processes relating to their actions in the family, the neighbourhood as well as the school. Their lives were not neatly divided between home and school in the way of most research literature.

The literature on deviance in school, on (S)EBD rarely discusses the experiences of girls and young women, often claiming to be gender blind but implicitly or explicitly focussing on the experiences of young men (Papers 2,3 and 8). Young women are quite disproportionately absent from the 'special educational needs' literature (Paper 9). Riddell, discussing the invisibility of gender (quoted in Paper 9) suggests three reasons for this. First the under development of disability theory and the predominance on the disability movement of men, second the neglect by feminism of issues of disability and special educational needs, and last the continued domination of what she called the '*child centred ideology in the field of special educational needs*' (Riddell 1996:3). The stronger presence of girls/young women in the criminological literature is shown in a strong feminist research base although this has been less prominent more recently (Gelsthorpe 1989; Hudson 1989). In Paper 9 I argued that thinking about decision-making in relation to educational deviance would benefit from the development of feminist thinking in criminology.

Feminist views

One of the few recent papers on gender and (S)EBD (Maras and Cooper 1999) begins by discussing '*internal to child features as a basis of EBDs*' and then offer a perhaps rather simple version of feminist approaches - '*In contrast, there is a growing literature that depicts gender issues in terms of illegitimate masculine power built on (notions of) male domination and oppression of females...*' (Maras and Cooper 1999:66). The authors give faint praise to what they describe as feminist views, although fail to refer to the diversity of ideas in feminist thinking, but do make the important point that current conceptualisations of gender avoid crude binary divisions, quoting Mac an Ghail in talking of the complex social and psychological processes, involved in the development of gendered subjectivities, underpinned by institutional and wider powers (Mac an Ghail 1994).

Feminist thinking on the development of gendered subjectivities has been largely rather more sophisticated than the account offered by Maras and Cooper, who perhaps underplay the theoretical debt owed by writers on masculinities like Mac an Ghail to the preceding, and current, feminist perspectives on gender. There are, of course, different feminisms, with varied perspectives on this issue (Francis 2000).

Francis discusses the contribution of post-structuralist theory in addressing theoretical complexities that have challenged earlier feminist thinking (for example that rooted in social learning/behaviourist traditions) (Francis 1999). '*Black, working class, gay and disabled feminists, have drawn white middle class, able bodied heterosexual feminists' attention to the fact that oppressive power relationships are not dependent only on gender but on a host of other factors and can exist between women*' (Francis 1999:7) She rejects the gender essentialism of '*difference feminists*' but also those ideas which entirely dismiss the gender dichotomy (Francis 1999:16). Much current thinking on gender identity, tends to see gender as relational, '*not as fixed, as socially constructed through various gender discourses...*' (Francis 2000; Francis 1999)

Feminist writing about education has largely, with a few notable exceptions, ignored deviance, concentrating much more on issues to do with the curriculum and teacher pupil relations in the classroom. Rather than concentrate on a broad idea of women's oppression in education, several studies of the construction and deconstruction of femininity in school developed a notion of active resistance by girls and young women, suggesting that often they engage in different forms of resistance from boys (Riddell 1992; Lees 1993; Lloyd 1992; Plummer 2000). The young women in the projects discussed in Papers 1,2,3 and 8 sometimes were defined as deviant in terms of some

conceptions of feminine deviance, for example running away and being 'at risk' and sometimes, as will be discussed further later, doubly deviant as their actions were seen to be more associated with notions of deviance associated with young men, such as violence in groups (Paper 8).

Although some literature suggests that girls may be more likely to construct their deviance in actions different from that of 'silly' or bad boys (Francis 2000: 62), it also offers examples of girls and boys together in sometimes resisting and sometimes conforming to the school's gendered construction of 'normality'. I argued earlier that power and resistance to power can be understood as part of the same interrelated process. Young women may be constructed as part of a discourse of normality and deviance in school but may also position themselves actively in other discourses.

The discourses of conformity and deviance shift and alter with the play of power relationships in schools, they are produced not only through official values and the formal power of teachers over boys and girls, they are also produced in the operations of power between and among teachers (men and women) in schools, between teachers and school managers and between teachers and other professionals (Paper 8). They are also produced strongly in the construction, as argued earlier of 'reputations' by boys and girls of each other and of themselves. Reputations can be experienced as supportive or excluding, they can include references to gender, sexuality, class or ethnicity. Gypsy Traveller girls may be name-called, for example in relation to both gender and ethnicity. Reputations may operate within and across boundaries, for example, of class and gender. There may be contradictions in their use, as for example, when young women, themselves constructed as deviant in school, may actively engage themselves in sex based name-calling 'cow', 'whore', 'prostitute' of other girls (Lloyd 1992:218).

Plummer quotes Reay's argument that prevailing academic discourses marginalise the ways in which social class contributes to social identities of young women but asserts, again with Reay, that the only current feminist work which examines the intersections of class and gender is almost exclusively written by feminists academics from working class backgrounds (Plummer 2000: 84, citing Reay 1998:260). Their position offers a valuable emphasis on the experiences of working class women although significantly overemphasises the virtue of the academics' own class based stories. Plummer also sees working class girls '*problems that underlie their educational failure and which manifest themselves as anorexia, withdrawal, depression, and early pregnancy*' as '*forms of resistance*' (Plummer 2000:200). This is a rather over simple analysis which fails to address the complexities of individual gendered subjectivities in relation to the operations of power within and between groups of adults, young men and young women, and within and between social classes. As

argued earlier young women may both resist and be produced by relations of class and gender. *'We are all complexly constructed through different categories, of different antagonisms, and these may have the effect of locating us socially in multiple positions of marginality and subordination, but which do not yet operate on us in exactly the same way'* (Hall 1991:57).

Gendered power relations in school

The processes and assumptions evident in professional decision-making in the schools researched as part of the Scottish project on disciplinary exclusion suggest some ways in which the operation of power in school is gendered (Paper 8). I argued earlier that many pupils, male and female choose to be 'well behaved' and that they participate in the processes that define and redefine acceptable actions. In the complex and shifting world of schools pupils may move in and out of 'well behaved' or deviant identities as they also move, or are moved, in and out of participation in class or school through the operation of formal and informal exclusionary processes. I referred to the operations of power in the production of the pupils who want/choose to behave and of those who are construed as deviant. Through the deconstruction of school practices, which represent the exercise of power, informal as well as formal, in normalising social relationships in school, the production of deviance is linked with the wider factors of social inequality, ethnicity and gender. These dimensions may not be very explicit, however, in these practices. Only two of 176 Headteachers in the project on disciplinary exclusion from school identified gender when asked what they thought were the key issues (Paper 8). Gender was not seen as significant but was taken for granted.

School staff interviewed in several of the projects discussed in the submitted papers talked not only of what was 'acceptable behaviour' but indicated a construction of acceptability or worthiness. Gypsy Traveller young women, as discussed earlier, could make themselves acceptable by 'passing', by minimising their Traveller status through dress, language and style of interaction with teachers and other pupils (Papers 4 and 5). Girls in the project on disciplinary exclusion could avoid reaching the stage exclusion by being willing to 'take a telling off' (Paper 8). Girls and young women may be seen to avoid direct confrontation, but when they are perceived to be challenging the 'authority' of the school and become involved in the processes of disciplinary exclusion the reasons given for the exclusion were parallel to those given for boys.

The criminological literature suggested that professional decision-making about girls is permeated with concerns about morality and vulnerability. The history of special provision for girls (see Paper 7) suggests that in the historically shifting issues of punishment and welfare, girls were more often processed within a context of welfare concerns. Biologically based accounts of their deviance were

more prominent and a continuing concern for their sexual actions (Papers 7 and 9). The idea of reputations, discussed earlier, has been well developed in understanding the ways in which the sexual actions of young women are labelled by other young people and their teachers and how this becomes part of a process of social control (Lees 1993). Sewell in his discussion of black masculinities and schooling cites Foucault's argument that '*sexuality underlies the whole truth about a person*' and argues for an understanding of the '*policing of sexuality, both institutional and self imposed*' (Sewell 2000:xii).

Carlen, discussing adult women offenders, talked of a gender deal, where women are shown greater leniency if they take on feminine behaviour, if they are in a 'normal' family as a wife or daughter (Carlen 1988; Carlen and Worrall 1987). '*Within the notion of conformity there is inscribed a system of gender differentiation which enables defendants to be judged for their identity as much for, or instead of, the crime they may be committing*' (Young 1996:42-43, cited in Paper 9). In the process of disciplinary exclusion, as in the criminal justice system there may be a double bind for girls; the possibility of greater leniency if they follow the script and are a 'nice' girl, despite their crime but of greater harshness if they not only break the school rules but also those which construct appropriate femininity. If they are violent, if they are aggressive in groups, if they are sexually promiscuous they may be judged more deviant. Judgement and care here intersect. In the stories of the young women in the studies reported here even when young women come into structures of professional decision-making on grounds of committing offences they are more likely to be processed in terms of concerns about their moral welfare - or their threat to the moral fabric (Hudson 1989).

The threat of bad girls

The young women in the projects discussed in Papers 2 and 3 epitomised the dangerousness of deviant girls. They were in trouble at school, they were delinquent in their neighbourhoods, they were sexually active. Their moral turpitude was shown because despite support provided by the State, they still perversely became (mainly single) teenage mothers, 'doubly dangerous to society, both because of their own apparent lack of morality and welfare dependency and because of their responsibility for producing the male, delinquent youth of the future' (Paper 3). In that paper I rejected the view that such young women were 'feckless creators of their own irresponsible circumstances' or that alternatively that they were 'victims of their own structural positioning' in terms of gender and class. They had experienced difficulties in their lives, had been subject to the working of power in producing their deviant label and identity but had also shown resistance. Their stories illustrate the complexity of these processes, of the complicated interplay of individual

biographies with structural forces (Paper 9). Their lives showed opportunities taken, resistances and choices made. They resisted their production as 'docile bodies'. These choices were limited however by a context of poverty, of poor housing and limited employment opportunities.

Their stories show the significance of gender in an exploration of the construction and processing of deviance in schools but that as argued earlier, gender is itself constituted in relation to other structural factors like ethnicity and class. *'Rather the new politics of cultural difference examines the regulative and normalising power within identity categories. In this way identity is constituted through a range of subjectivities that cannot be contained within a single category'* (Hayward and Mac an Ghaill 1998:127).

The following sections widen the focus on gender to include social class and culture into a discussion of the idea of social exclusion.

Gender, class and culture

Gender and class are central to understanding how power relations in school construct and redefine normality and deviance. Wright and colleagues, discussing gender and race in exclusion from school, draw on Bourdieu in suggesting that pupils (and teachers) have a constantly reformulated set of dispositions towards power, primarily rooted in social class. They argue that ethnicity, gender and class are intertwined in question of how pupils are disposed towards the power relations they experience in school (Wright et al 2000; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977).

The relationship between disciplinary exclusion in school and wider exclusionary processes is apparent in the stories of the young women and of the Traveller young people and their families. The disciplinary (and self) exclusion of Gypsy Traveller families from school, and from aspects of majority culture, connects with and is reproduced by the inability of many schools to recognise and accommodate their difference (Paper 4). This difference is also developed and defined in relation to their position in local communities. Gypsy Travellers in the study discussed here often lived either on Traveller sites, which tended to be in very disadvantaged neighbourhoods or else to be housed in poor housing areas. Name-calling and discrimination in school reflected opinions about Travellers in these neighbourhoods.

The young women in the research discussed in Papers 2 and 3 all lived in areas of social disadvantage, some in extremely poor, sometimes very troubled streets, or in tower blocks with discarded needles on the stairs. Recent thinking and policy development tends to use the term

social exclusion to indicate the ways in which disadvantage is multiplied in some areas (Clark et al 2001)

Paper 2 suggests that the limited educational opportunities offered by special provision for (S)EBD are linked to the subsequent experience of social exclusion. Whether young people in transition find themselves in circumstances of social exclusion is affected by social policies affecting the institutions that shape their lives (Baldwin et al 1997).

Social exclusion

Much recent discussion of the issue of social exclusion has used the ideas of social and cultural capital to address the process of the reproduction of inequality (Garnikov and Green 1999). Versions of the idea of social capital, as in its different formulations, underpin many policy recommendations relevant to the social groups participating in the research projects discussed in this submission. Coleman's formulation of the idea of social capital is relatively value neutral, although others have developed the idea as a more normative concept, linked with presumed desirable forms of democracy (Coleman 1994; Garnikov and Green 1999). This more normative understanding of the term is evident in much of the UK current policy formation around issues of social exclusion. In the Westminster and Scottish governments' conceptualisation of social exclusion, there has been a *'shift away from a sole focus on material deprivation towards a recognition of wider social and cultural factors.... social capital features increasingly prominently in New Labour thinking'* (Riddell and Tett 2001:5).

The failure of some of these recent conceptualisations to include the dimensions of power/conflict can lead to rather romantic conceptions of community. This can be seen in some writing about Travellers, where a celebration of some strong cultural values fails to emphasise for many Gypsy Travellers the strength of the exclusionary forces around their loss of traditional employment, lack of access to medical services, harassment and disadvantaged living situation (Papers 4 and 5). The cultural capital of Gypsy Travellers is not exchangeable for that which enables educational achievement, *'the expression of class privilege within educational institutions'* (Garnikov and Green 1999:59). Ozga talking of the education market and school choice suggests that schools may encourage the participation of those pupils *'from families with social and cultural capital, which contributes to the virtuous spiral of success, and to reject pupils who may not so contribute'* (Ozga 2000:62). Others may be more easily excluded. School staff talking of Travellers experiences recognised that minority groups have 'culture' but not that there are a range of cultures in schools and their neighbourhoods, as suggested by the Traveller support teacher in Paper 5. "What I think the shortfall is there, is that teachers in schools are not aware of their own culture, they are all dying

to be told about Travellers culture but they are not aware that this is a system they operate in ...you really have to have a close introspective look at the culture you are creating in a school”.

In Paper 3 I rejected the current usage of the ‘underclass’, in its implication that young people were solely responsible for their own plight, so individualising ‘the problem of vulnerable young people’ (Leney 1999:37). Leney suggests that there was some worth in Myrdal’s early conceptualisation of the underclass in analysing the *‘tendency for economic and social polarization, combined with a credentialism in education and the labour market, and both impacting on particular communities intensely, as creating almost impenetrable boundaries for the unemployed, groups with low skills and ethnic minorities’* (Leney 1999:36). In substituting the concept of social exclusion we need to be able to address the complexities of individual biographies with social structures of disadvantage. The stories in Paper 3 illustrated the complicated interplay of individual biographies with structural forces; their choices were limited by a context of poverty, of poor housing and limited employment opportunities.

The ideas of social and cultural capital, it is suggested can bridge the perennial gap between these structures and the individuals. Munn discussing disciplinary exclusion from school views social capital as *‘an elaboration of the concept of cultural capital, and by giving greater analytical purchase on that concept provides a useful analytical tool in understanding school practices...’* (Munn 2000:172). Schuller and colleagues argue that *‘a social capital approach is relational, and requires us to look at social phenomena from different angles simultaneously in ways that at least attempt to capture the changing nature of relationships... This is, emphatically, to be distinguished from a post-modernist position of unqualified relativism...’* (Schuller et al 2000:29). Schuller et al think that, despite the problems they identify with the concept, it has value because *‘it shifts the focus of analysis from the behaviour of individual agents to the patterns of relations between agents, social units and institutions, can act as a link between macro, meso and macro, crosses disciplinary boundaries, reinserts issues of value into the heart of social science discourse and so can be of heuristic value’* (Schuller et al 2000:25-26).

So the idea of social capital may be useful in helping to explore the networks, families, identities and the features of social life, in relation to advantage *and* disadvantage but only when its roots in the older ideas of cultural deprivation, where only the privileged had culture and the poor need to be given it, are rejected. The relationship between ideas of cultural deprivation and those of inadequate parenting, criticised by Bernstein and others in the 1970s (Bernstein 1970; Keddie 1971; Plummer 2000), is reappearing in current formulations of social exclusion, where *‘social*

capital may be realised in a normative order of traditional institutional forms, for instance, favouring two-parent nuclear families; locating the 'parenting deficit' in women's increased labour market activity; and arguing for a collectivist non-relativist moral regime of duties and responsibilities to which all are expected to conform, particularly those least well placed in the system' (Garnikov and Green 1999:50). McClenaghan questions the validity of the validity of social capital in its uses in discussion of community action, arguing that in its original formulation by Bourdieu it provided a more useful '*...framework for the study of the complex social processes structuring and restructuring the social field in which community takes place.* (McClenaghan 2000:580) She argues for a critical view of the ways in which cultural and social capital are differentially accessible and how they operate to obscure social and economic inequalities.

If we reject the more normative perspectives yet we can still recognise that people do have individual troubles and these are clearly both produced and exacerbated by poverty. How people respond to and deal with social disadvantage is through networks of social relationships, in accordance with or in rejection of cultural traditions, which are not fixed but constantly reconstructed and redefined (Paper 4), operating through a range of social institutions, as argued earlier, where the self is constructed through technologies of power. The major structural factors are still there, as I argued earlier, power is not random, structural factors and human actions affect and constrain the way the mix works in practice and how it impacts on the individual subject. How individual difficulty is defined and addressed in disadvantaged communities is increasingly discussed in terms of social exclusion, unpacked into ideas of capital, which may be useful in making sense of the complex relationships between major structures of inequality and the processes of education and social welfare - if they are not constituted in formulations which denote blame to the poor, obscure economic inequalities or deny individual agency to those involved. In the next sections I focus on the idea of individual agency in a discussion of the place of the individual troubles and the individual subject.

Individual troubles

The troubles of the young women, in Papers 2 and 3, may in many ways, have been rooted in poverty but they also were experienced and accounted for by the young women as individual troubles. For many of the girls their difficulties with school were seen to be connected with the failure of schools to recognise and accommodate changes and problems in their out of school lives (Paper 2:72). Osler and colleagues talk of the invisibility of such difficulties in schools (Osler 2002). Much of the sociology of educational deviance, as argued earlier, has tended to underplay the complexities of individual human experience. Yet many of the participants in the research

projects discussed in this commentary spoke of their feelings about their lives in school and at home. Furlong's paper talks of the hidden injuries of schooling and the failure of much writing to acknowledge the feelings of pupils (Furlong 1991). *'Most of us, when we pause for thought, recognise that we have highly complex emotional lives and this, in part derives from the fact that our social world makes contradictory emotional demands on us'* (Furlong 1991:305).

School deviance inevitably has a psychological and emotional dimension, denied by much of the critical literature on inclusion in its rejection of the individualising of the psycho-medical model. Writers like Thomas and Loxley, Garner and Slee tend to argue that if schools were run with humanity and due attention to children's rights then they wouldn't have any problems and that 'psychologism' is really just about control (Thomas and Loxley 2001; Slee 1995, 1998, 2000; Garner 1999). Garner equates 'Pupils with Problems' with 'oppositional behaviour'. He sees current concerns about pupils 'behaviour' as *'a further expression of the traditional fear of difference - whether cultural, racial, social or behavioural - within our society'* (Garner 1999:166).

This underplays the powerfulness of the individual's experiences in and out of school and the complexity of the relationship between them. This complexity is evident, for example, in the story of Ann (Paper 2). Paradoxically however those perspectives, variously described as medical or psycho-medical represent an individualistic approach which fails to address the idiosyncratic complexities of experience and subjectivity of the actual individual human subject - rather they tend to classify and sort individuals into categories and label them as (S)EBD, ADHD, conduct disorder. The biopsychosocial model is not sufficiently complex and it is still rooted in an individualistic perspective, which sees the difficulties as essentially belonging to the individual - the organic nature of disease mediated by the psychosocial experience for the individual.

I have argued that to try to understand 'the deviant pupil' means to explore the dynamic relationships between the major structural factors of class, gender and ethnicity, the levels of policy and legislation, the ways in which these are understood, implemented and resisted by professionals in their institutions and negotiated by these professionals with pupils and parents. It means exploring the processes by which the major structural factors interplay with individual actions through the operations of power within and between governments, schools, families and neighbourhoods. It means recognising the operations of different (gendered) regimes of truth in systems of professional decision-making and surveillance, which produce ideas of the norm and produce the 'deviant' in relation to the 'normal'.

It also means to acknowledge that individual pupils make choices and have feelings and understandings which are individual and idiosyncratic and that these develop in their unique biographies but that these are formed and shaped within institutions, such as the family and school, within discourses, ideologies and institutional practices. From birth the individual subjectivity is forming in a dynamic interaction, affected by a child's biological and temperamental dimensions but these are experienced, interpreted, incorporated and resisted in relation to shifting understandings generated through the institutional discourses of family, neighbourhood, mass media and school.

If, as I have argued, we need to recognise the dangers of privatising public concerns then we should be equally wary of dismissing complex human feelings. In rejecting the biological determinism, for example in much of the literature associated with ADHD, or some of the crude biological assumptions about femininity in some explanations of girls deviance, it would be foolish to deny that some biological factors are relevant (Papers 4 and 9). How individuals make decisions and live in their social world is also affected by physical and biological factors. In Paper 4 I argued for an appreciation of the work done in relation to ADHD by psychologists in the developmental contextualist tradition (Pellegrini and Horvat 1995). Some feminist writers have drawn on psychodynamic perspectives, for example on the notion of the unconscious, in understanding personal histories and the development of gender identity in families (Mitchell 1975; Chodorow 1978). Plummer criticises this work (middle class women again!) but does quote the black liberation psychologist Fanon who argues that in order to liberate themselves people '*have to attend to the woundedness of their psyches*' (Plummer 2000:50; Fanon 1963).

Some of the young people, boys and girls interviewed for these research projects had mental health problems. The concept of a mental health problem, like (S)EBD, is relational; it is socially produced, reflecting the assumptions of the definer, part of regimes of truth that act to produce conformity and deviance. This analysis is not incompatible with recognition that the troubles of some young people are expressed through actions that indicate distress. Young women who run away, use drugs, and engage in sexual intercourse with strangers may be having a good time, or they may be resisting what they see to be inappropriate expectations of femininity or they may, like Lesley, be angry and confused and running from violence and sexual abuse at home (Paper 3). Some young women in these studies had engaged in physical self harm or had been so depressed that they could not leave the house in the morning.

Depression and suicide are widely recognised to be highly related to social and economic disadvantage, to unemployment. If they are only conceptualised as an individual phenomenon then these links will not be addressed. If the question posed earlier is not asked, about whose interests do particular labels serve and the structural conditions leading to the attachment of certain labels to given groups, then the relationship between the conceptualisation of mental health and the interests of the pharmaceutical industry would not be apparent (Riddell 1996; Paper 6).

Troubles, often gendered like abuse, depression and eating disorders, are both socially defined and individually experienced. James and colleagues argue, for example, with Foucault that child abuse is not currently more prevalent but more evident in a contemporary context with a particular view of the innocent (although also still seductive) child. The concept has been defined in current professional practice but historically was a constant practice (James et al 1998; Foucault 1988). The recognition of this however does not deny the deep distress felt by abused young women (Papers 2,3). James et al argue that '*The body in childhood is a crucial resource for making and breaking identity, precisely because of its unstable material*' (James et al 1998:156). To deny the body in our thinking is, paradoxically, to prevent the development of theorising the complex relationship between the body and its social context. In relation to ADHD for example in Paper 6 I argued that as children's brains are plastic and continue to develop during childhood and adolescence then a dynamic model is required, which recognises the reciprocal effects of the body and its social context. 'Biologies can be created and are responsive to environments' (Paper 6).

While recognising biology as a form of historically situated disciplinary knowledge I reject those views that argue that the body is only a socially constructed knowledge. '*While the limitations of the body are constantly changing, they still shape the feasibility of mediated interactions*' (Shilling 1999:553). That the body may be '*endlessly reconstructed and reinvented*' (Armstrong 1983, cited in James et al 1998) is relevant to thinking about mental health, about SEBD, about ADHD, all ideas rooted in particular historical and disciplinary discourses. However while a key issue here involves who defines and labels pain, the bodies of individual subjects also *feel* pain and distress, which is articulated by those who feel it.

The individual subject

In its critique of individualism some of the critical literature about inclusion has lost some sense of the individuality of human persons. The assertion of the presence of individuality is sometimes set in contrast to the '*dissolved, decentred, deconstructed individual actor and author as he or she appears in Durkheimian, Structuralist and Post-structuralist schools of social science*' (Rapport

1997:7 italics in original). Rapport argued that an appreciation of the individuality of others is fostered through a consciousness of oneself in a socio cultural environment. He criticises '*the relative ease with which one can anti-humanistically impersonalise (dehumanise) others while wishing yet to personalise (reserve a comparatively humane treatment for) oneself; one creates a marvellously ingenious, elegant and circumscribing model of the lack of individual agency of others (their false consciousness, their unconsciousness, their collective consciousness) while omitting (the possibility of) one's own creativity as model-builder from the model...*' (Rapport 1998:8). Dyson in discussing issues in researching 'voice' identifies the difficulties faced by those whose research identifies voices which do not correspond to the theoretical model /expectations of researchers and their tendency then to resort to idea of false consciousness (Dyson 1998:10).

The humanistic liberalism offered by Rapport is attractive in the possibilities it offers for human change and improvement and its connection with ideas of social justice. Writers in this tradition recognise that human beings have feelings, belief and desires which can be expressed in words through which they tell the stories of their lives (Rapport 1998) but however this approach does underestimate the impact of the major structural forces, operating through the complexities and inequalities of power in social settings.

The individual human subject of value and worth listening to, however, must be part of an understanding of the stories of research participants, who are 'allowed' to reflect, to have self-awareness. Cohen argues that '*We should focus on self consciousness not in order to fetishise the self but, rather, to illuminate society*' (Cohen 1994). The notion of mental health and mental health problems necessarily involve some conceptualisation of individual identity. Bendle argues that increasing concerns about '*mental health, both in its institutional forms and its cultural representations*' are paralleled by a theoretical crisis around the concept of '*identity*' (Bendle 2002:4). Perhaps the currently most quoted approach to identity is Giddens' notion of the reflexive self in the risk society, where self identity is reflexively understood by the individual in terms of his or her biography (Giddens 2001). Sociological notions of the self, like that of Giddens, have been criticised for their emphasis on cognitive processes and marginalising of '*the significance of emotional dimensions of interaction for human action and social structure*' (Shilling 1999:558; see also Furlong 1991 discussed earlier).

Giddens uses some ideas from psychodynamic theory, in particular from the object relations model, to develop a notion of the development of a stable self-identity in childhood through childhood relationships. I have found some of the key concepts of psychodynamic theory useful, particularly

in their historical/biographical perspective, the centrality of feeling and the notion of the unconscious (in its less determinist conceptions). The notion that the past is present in a relatively un/integrated, un/resolved way in all current biographies seems important as a part of an understanding of troubles experienced by young people, but has important flaws. For example, Butler criticises the use of psychodynamic ideas (in particular those derived from Lacan) in some feminist models of the formation of gendered subjectivities, while recognising some value in identifying the '*developmental moments in which gendered identity is acquired*' (Butler 1990:326). She raises the fundamental problem with psychodynamic perspectives, in their almost complete lack of a social and culture context for child development and their lack of reflectiveness on the social production of theory itself. She is critical of an over determinist notion of intrapsychic processes of an '*interior fixity of our identities*' (Butler 1990:339)

However the notion that human beings have a psychic life, characterised by affect as well as intellect, in constant interaction with their social world is still central to a notion of humanity. For some people an understanding of their troubles requires a recognition that the emotions of their inner world may become overwhelming, that they find it difficult to deal with their social world. Difficulties with this inner psychic world do not simply represent the projection of professionals reconstructing the 'challenging' as 'disturbed', although human beings as I have argued, respond, construct and reconstruct their sense of self in relation to the play of power relationships in families, schools and other social contexts which contribute to their own discourse of personal difficulty.

ADHD, evil or possession by devils, each of these different accounts of human actions derives from discourses that become normalised and a part of the cultural awareness of young people. This is particularly epitomised by mental health problems associated with food and eating, which are highly varied in their incidence between countries and cultures and which may be understood from a range of perspectives. In modern Western cultures, mainly an issue for women, they represent, in one aspect, the incorporation of the sexual gaze, the embodiment of normalising femininity. In another they reflect the massively invested capital of the dieting industry and its constant representation of the desirability of thinness (Norris 1996). They reflect the significance of food in family/mothering relationships. In the loss of menses and secondary sexual characteristics they represent a rejection of or resistance to adult female sexuality. They may represent a satisfying sense of personal control over the body, for example in web sites where participants assert their right not be constructed as sufferers and share strategies for weight loss. They also may mean that

young women may feel emotionally troubled and irreparably damage their physical bodies; this understanding intersects with and complements the other processes.

The responses to the actions of those in these papers identified with (S)EBD had been influenced by all of the complexity of professional interests discussed earlier. The labels used to describe and account for their actions were varied and reflected a jumbled confusion of understandings and interpretations. Nevertheless most of these young people, particularly the young women in Papers 2 and 3, told stories in which they described distress, hurt, anger, feeling out of control, panic. Sometimes they felt these things as a consequence of the ways in which they had been treated or where they had been placed by the professional decision-making. Often they were angry with teachers, who they saw as unfair or not listening. But most said also that they had troubles and needed help.

Their accounts indicate a more complex relationship between individual difficulty and the '*impedimenta, vocabulary and judgements of the new professionals*' than is suggested by the notion that '*institutional need for order is transformed to a child's emotional need*' (Thomas and Loxley 2001:54,52). Writers in the new critical inclusion make a crucial point when they remind us of the processes of social control in education and draw attention to the ways in which the labels of special educational needs, such as (S)EBD, rather than accurate measurable descriptions of a condition, are constructed through, in and the interests of, school processes. However, in this assertion, the possibility that individual young men and women may have individual troubles, and the complex enmeshing of the individual and the social, tends to get lost.

Helping individuals is to oppress them?

So, in the denial of the possibility of individual trouble, the process of support or help is construed, not as benevolent, but as oppressive. Young people, in this perspective, ask for help or see themselves as having emotional difficulties only because of their production as such through a moral career in which their sense of self becomes 'sufferer and victim. Escape comes only by 'acknowledgement' and 'acceptance' of one's problems. '*It helps if one can learn the vocabulary and the semiology of the therapeutic system and parrot it back to the therapeutic agent*' (Thomas and Loxley 2001:54). Thomas and Loxley and others in the critical inclusive paradigm speculate about the persistence of the traditional psycho-medical tradition in special education. Slee sees the proliferation of categories like ADHD as an '*administrative windfall of an insidious device for regulation and surveillance of increasing numbers of students*' (Slee 1998:132). Thomas and Loxley discuss why the '*therapeutic mindset behind notions of maladjustment should have been so*

resistant to suffocation in the absence of supporting evidence' (2001:55) and suggest that they continue because they support the continuance of the power imbalance between adult and child, because of the professional 'taken for granted assumption of doing good', whereas really they are doing control in their own interests. So the acknowledgement of individual difficulties is relegated to the old discredited categorical system of special education.

From special education to inclusion

There have been various accounts of the different positions associated with thinking about special education and the process of transformation to, or depending on the perspective substitution of, inclusion. These relate to and are intertwined with theoretical accounts of disability. The positions also overlap and are not always clearly distinguished in theory or practice. Dyson talks of the ambiguities of inclusion (1999:36).

Riddell, and Slee developing her typology, identify a series of positions - the essentialist, which is also often referred to as the psycho-medical, where needs exist, are identified and measured in an unproblematic way; the social constructivist which emphasise the oppressive process of the construction of disability; materialist positions which see disability in relation to the production and management of labour; post-modernist which analyse '*the complex and fragmented experiences of disability across a range of identities*' and disability movement perspectives which concentrate more on change and disability rights (Slee 1998:129; Riddell 1996). Slee argues that these schemata demonstrated the shortcomings of that offered by Clark and colleagues, who had criticised the importing into discussions of special education of a '*sociological theorising of disability*' (Slee 1998: 129). Slee quotes Oliver's argument that disablement speaks to political rather than individual pathologies, insisting that '*consistent with the struggle to dismantle racist and patriarchal schooling, an enabling education demands acknowledgement that disability describes unequal relationships of power and access to privilege*' (Slee 1998:134).

Skrtic categorises the new post -psycho-medical paradigm in terms of three broad approaches, interpretivism, radical structuralism and radical humanism but Clark and colleagues, however, argue that these positions overlap and are '*united in their critique of the older psycho-medical paradigm*' (Clark et al 1998:158) Those in the new paradigm do agree that special educational needs are not simply a descriptions of the characteristics of individual children and are '*united in a view that special education presents a benign and rational facade that is essentially false....a discriminatory, arbitrary and inefficient education system serving the interests not of the*

disadvantaged but of those who are already well resourced and socially advantaged (Clark et al 1998:159).

I agree with Clark and colleagues that there is much of worth in this broad paradigm. I have tried to develop a critique of the concept of (S)EBD which shares many of the theoretical characteristics of this paradigm, along with a concern for inequality and disadvantage recognising that *'...defining special education in terms of 'special need' and 'disability' obscured the class and economic basis of failure in, and exclusion from, school...'* (Booth 1998:82). Clark and colleagues argue that this radical inclusion paradigm has become difficult to challenge and indeed assert the value of the critique developed by those working within this paradigm. They argue, however, that the preoccupation with critique tends it towards ever more refined versions of itself which inevitably fail to offer avenues for change, other than the wished for disintegration of special education in response to the critique. Slee responds that *'Our purpose is not the refinement of critiques. Nor are we trapped in a detached academy. The production of educational practices required for inclusion demands that we 'think otherwise' (Ball 1998) which itself demands disengagement from the investment in traditional special educational culture'* (Slee, with Corbett, 2000:144).

Inclusion requires disengagement from special education?

I stated earlier that I write not just as an academic but also as an educationalist, a teacher, a researcher and as someone who has worked with young people labelled as delinquent, at risk, in difficulty in school and neighbourhoods. I have learned since my first teaching in the residential school that the experience of residential education was destructive for many young people, that many of them found it a route that confirmed a delinquent identity, a moral career, and that some in schools young people were abused. The existence of special provision allows the mainstream to avoid addressing issues about a diversity of learners and about creating more humane communities. I also recognise that although some young people may express, as many did in the research projects discussed here, positive and grateful views about some of their placements, that the support they received could be provided in a more diverse and responsive neighbourhood setting and their future lives may be affected by the limited curricular options available in the special setting.

However some young people, then and in this research, clearly did feel supported by professionals, some of who had acted with humanity and kindness to young people having troubles (Paper 2 and 3). It may be too easy to dismiss their views as false consciousness. Their views about the value of the provision reflect the same mixture of knowledge and opinion formed in interaction with others, their families, their peers, the professionals, the television as do those of the professionals who

work with them. If we value the concept of voice but privilege some voices, then we exclude others. Some of the young women in the project discussed here expressed clear opinions that undermined some of my long held views. For example the young women who said they liked to be in a small minority in a residential school because they had more choice of boyfriends, an understandable concern for a teenage girl. I have substantial professional reservations about the use of secure placements for young people but Lesley (Paper 2) felt that her life was out of her control and that she had been saved by the decision to place her in secure provision.

Many young people in the projects discussed here, as in others, valued professional support or intervention in their lives when it was offered by professionals who 'treated them as equal human beings, who listened and provided uncritical support even while sometimes criticising their actions. This kind of support was not seen to be often available in the mainstream, although as for Ann it could be there' (Paper 2:76). Other studies have found professional involvement to be valued when '*rooted in an understanding of the informal networks of young people and ...in partnership with significant carers or supporters*' (Armstrong et al 2000:70; Lloyd et al 2001).

There was a diversity of professional voices in the research discussed here, in mainstream and special settings. Some like teachers, expressed views that seemed to be informed by the popular press or by neighbourhood prejudice, others that they were seeking to understand, make sense of and respond appropriately to what they perceived to be the needs of their pupils or directly to requests for help. Many, as I argued earlier, will have a mixture of views and will act in relation to shifting patterns of power relationships and interests. The radical inclusion perspective inevitably tends to view them as acting only in their own interests to control children and maintain their professional power. A colleague, who at the time of the publication of Tomlinson's book had worked for years in special education, described her feelings when she read it (Tomlinson 1982). She said she understood it to say that everything she had done was wrong, that by working in the places she had worked she had been destructive of her pupils. So it is understandable that educational practitioners may resist this awareness and assert the value of their daily work, avoiding an awareness of the wider implications. They may also be more attracted to the writing of those who describe themselves as 'moderate' inclusionists'.

'Moderate' inclusion

The widening use of the term inclusion in education over recent years means that the idea is increasingly contested. Some elements of the contestation come from an incorporation of earlier ideas of integration into the discussion of inclusion, partly as a result of issues arising from

practicalities of delivery (Hornby 1999; Daniels and Garner 1999). Recently the notion of 'moderate' or 'responsible' inclusion has been canvassed, where the proponents argue for the retention of the best of what Slee calls the traditional special educational culture and against the supposed arrogance of the 'detached advocates' of the 'full inclusion lobby' (Garner and Gains 2001). This debate was conducted recently in a professional practice journal with a level of bitterness (*'Special'* 2001). The 'moderate' may have an obvious appeal to practitioners, in particular those with occupational interests to defend but also to those who have worked to engage with young people in difficulty. The 'moderate' inclusion approach has a superficial attractiveness in its assertion of a commitment to the principles of inclusion but a 'realistic' approach to delivery that recognises the slow pace of educational change still valuing much work undertaken in segregated settings.

The approach can be criticised, however, on a number of grounds. First in its continued preoccupation with the technicalities of movement from 'segregation' to 'integration' it continues to focus on narrow notions of special educational need. Second, and related to this, while adherents of this position often acknowledge an element of social construction in the idea of 'need', they often then move on to a discussion of practice which does not really reflect this. Cooper's work on ADHD, for example, sometimes acknowledges a social interactive view, but ultimately still sees it as individual 'disorder', failing to recognise the complexity of factors involved in the production of this notion. *'Whether the disorder develops, and the nature of its development, depend on the complex interactions between the molecular level, the cellular level and the organism in the external environment. This interaction makes it entirely disingenuous to frame a discussion around the simplistic dichotomy of whether 'ADHD is a biological brain dysfunction' - this is inaccurate and misleading. ADHD is best understood as a biopsychosocial problem and the 'bio' is in there because the research evidence indicates that it is an important factor...'* (Cooper 2000:599). Cooper is strongly associated with the claim that ADHD is seriously under diagnosed and under prescribed in Britain (Cooper and Bilton 1999). This literature can be seen to have contributed to a relatively uncritical widening of the medicalised net, in terms of diagnosis and prescription.

A further problem with the moderate inclusion position is that it so easily becomes simply a justification for current practice, demonstrating the point made by writers in the more radical inclusion position that 'inclusion' becomes the label for the uncritical continuation of the practices of special education. Booth in his response to the paper by Garner and Gains points out that they view inclusion only through the lens of special educational needs. He criticises their emotive language. *'In order to show political correctness countless thousand of children representing the*

full range of learning difficulties are being shoe-horned into schools with little or no real help' (Garner and Gains 2001). He also points out that the movement of pupils into the mainstream from segregated settings has been relatively small, echoing the point made earlier in this commentary about the expressed fears of some school staff in Scotland based on an unfounded belief in this kind of shift in school populations.

The development of the 'moderate' inclusion position can be related to Fraser's discussion of the politics of needs interpretation (Fraser 1989). Fraser describes '*reprivatization*' discourses which emerge in response to politicised 'oppositional' forms of needs talk, when subordinated groups, like the disabled, challenge the ways in which their needs had been defined by others and develop new ways of articulating their 'needs', such as the social model and the associated radical inclusion discourses. Reprivatization discourses tend to incorporate some elements of the critique of the oppositional, while '*defending the established social division of discourses.... (and) denying the claims of oppositional movements*' (Fraser 1989:172). So for example the 'moderate' adopts some of the language of 'inclusion' and the critique of labelling is acknowledged in some of the writing of the 'moderate' position but then is largely dismissed. '*Despite the acknowledged problems with the use of category based systems to describe pupils with SEN, it is likely that they will continue to be used... if we offer some children additional help that is not available to others we need some form of words or labels to describe or 'categorise' the children who receive this help... used wisely they can be helpful in describing a problem, indicating the cause and for predicting the long term future*' (Farrell 2001:4). This 'moderate' discussion of inclusion is still just about identifying individual difficulties and finding a place to meet needs.

Dyson argues that we can see the roots of the moderate inclusion position in the 'dilemmas of difference', and that the '*the powerful emphasis within inclusion on access to common placements and participation in common learning experiences generates enormous practical and theoretical tensions when set against the realities of limited teacher skills, exclusionary pressures in schools, and, above all, substantive differences between learners*' (Dyson 2001:27). This is exacerbated by the awkwardness sometimes in the discourse of some radical inclusion writers, when in their construction of the inclusive school they use phrases like '*responding to the needs of a range of student differences*' (Slee 1998:135). So a student cannot have 'needs' but a 'difference' can.

Differences and disability

Participants in these projects were identified as different through a range of social processes; some were different through their construction as deviant, as having (S)EBD, or as disruptive, or

‘suffering’ from a ‘disorder’ like ADHD. These labels of difference also reflected social class and gender in their construction through professional discourses. In the project in Paper 4 some of the participants had become defined as deviant in a process that reflected their different culture as Gypsy Travellers. All the Traveller young people in this project, including the Show Travellers, said that this difference led to negative consequences in their relationships with other pupils. The dominant understanding of bullying in their schools however was of individual bullies and victims, rather than of a pupil (and sometimes staff) culture that denigrated difference. *‘The neglect of pupil cultures and family cultures which are also class cultures means a neglect of agency.’* (Hatcher 1996:40 cited by Ball 1998:78).

The complexities of the processes through which some young people become labelled in school as (S)EBD have been discussed in this commentary. I have argued that understanding these processes, and rejecting simple individualistic explanations, does not preclude recognition that these young people are individual human subjects. Nor does it preclude a recognition that they have often acted in ways that have been destructive and distressing to other human beings. Difference as a cause for celebration is problematic, when the difference may be exemplified by violence or by racist name-calling by some young people, themselves constructed as different / deviant. Some of the research participants in these studies had been labelled in a process that constructed cultural difference as deviance (Paper 6). Others were different in their social exclusion but had set cars on fire or assaulted other young people. Some had experienced family separations, abuse, institutional care, and violence.

The politics of difference and of disablement tend to valorise difference in a way that is problematic when looking at deviance. Equally mental health difficulties do not fit easily into the social model of disability. This is not to deny the important contribution of the social model. In particular I do not associate my observations with those critics of this model who deny the validity of the critique of categorical approaches to special educational needs (Blamires 2001: Robertson 2001). Dyson argues helpfully that in the rejection by disabled people of their victimisation, *‘alternative understandings of disability have been sought which represent its social origins and offer a basis for articulating the political character of the struggle for ‘human rights’ in an inclusive society’* (Dyson 2000:11). It offers a model where the ideas discussed here of deviance, (S)EBD, mental health can be viewed in the context of wider critique of what constitutes ‘normal’ (Dyson op cit). It also links ideas of personal difficulty firmly to a social context of inequality and social justice. Recognition of the political context of the construction and interpretation of needs

does not preclude a discussion of the needs claims, which as Fraser (1989) argues may enable the discussion of needs to become one of social rights.

CONCLUSIONS

Inclusion, exclusion and social justice

The importance of wider structural factors in understanding educational deviance has been asserted in this commentary. In the papers discussed here the key aspects of gender, ethnicity, culture and poverty have been clear in the lives of the young people. They highlight the relationship between the various conceptualisations of educational inclusion/disciplinary exclusion and the wider notions, now currently evident in social policy of social inclusion/exclusion. Education can only be viewed in relation to the wider social world, *'educational issues cannot be adequately understood in merely technical and resource terms. They are fundamentally social questions, involving struggles over, for example, social justice, equity and citizenship...'* (Barton 1999:54). Barton describes inclusive education as a *'means to an end - the creation and maintenance of an inclusive society'* (Barton 1999:58). Thus the educational discourse of radical inclusion recognises the central dimensions of social inequality, however expressing this often through the discussion of disability and not developing a wider notion of educational inclusion /exclusion (Booth 1996). Equally issues of disability or special educational needs are often not strongly visible in the literature on social justice, which tends to concentrate on the inequalities of class, ethnicity and gender (Griffiths 1998).

A bringing together of these arguments perhaps moves us towards Dyson's idea of multiple inclusions (Dyson 1999). *'There is no one right answer... All answers are revisable and subject to change as a result of critiques'* (Griffiths 1998:13). Griffiths in defining social justice argued that *'each individual is valued and recognised as an important part of the community as a whole ... just as we create ourselves in and against community we create ourselves in and against sections of that community as persons with gender, class, race sexuality and (dis)abilities'* (Griffiths 1998: 13). Conceptualising inclusion in terms of social justice therefore does allow for the presence of the individual in a complex social context. It also allows for the recognition of exclusion in inclusion, a notion of exclusionary and inclusionary forces in a contradictory tension in school processes. To recognise the continuing pressures for exclusion is not necessarily pessimistic. On the contrary it offers a way of exploring the complexity of the play of power in schools in social and economic contexts as well as enabling the re-introduction of the individual subject in the social context.

A multidimensional model of (S)EBD

Recognition of the multiplicity of factors in the construction and labelling of educational deviance demonstrates, as I have argued, the inadequacy of the dominant psycho-medical models. The

concept of (S)EBD in practice is relational, not reflecting a fixed objective category. Young people are constructed and labelled as deviant or with (S)EBD in shifting professional discourses. So understanding these processes requires a complex, multidimensional model which recognises the movements of power on and between the different but related levels of the social world, acknowledging the impact on relationships in school of wider structural inequalities, of a range of dominant and minority cultures and cultural sources, like the mass media. The model, as developed in this commentary, includes an analysis of competing policy interests, of professional expert discourses, of financial and funding pressures, of commercial promotion. It explores the operations of power in the micropolitics of schools. It involves a conceptualisation of young people as subject to disciplinary processes but also as resistant to these processes, as exerting their own power in school. It views the disciplinary processes of schools as gendered, classed and racialised.

It rejects binary notions of normality, worthiness, sanity and their opposites by recognising that young people move in and out of deviant identities, and that professional discourses also shift and moderate their notions of deviance. I have argued that in understanding the 'deviant pupil' it is necessary to perceive all these factors in an enmeshed and dynamic relationship with each other and with the individual choices and responses of the young person. Young people respond to these processes with individual human feelings, and these have to be included in the model. A complex multidimensional approach can include the possibility that individual young men and women have their own subjectivities and may have personal troubles. The way in which these troubles are expressed and described reflects the enmeshing of the individual understanding with the complex range of social factors. Both are necessary for an adequate account.

From theory to practice

The ways in which educational deviance is conceptualised influence discussions of practice. Theory is important for offering practitioners alternative views of their professional world. *'Theory is destructive, disruptive and violent. It offers a language for challenge, and modes of thought, other than those articulated for us by dominant others'* (Ball 1994:79). I am interested in developing this complex multidimensional model into a theoretical resource accessible to the practitioner face to face with the excluded pupil, or in the multi professional meeting. I have argued that in order to struggle for understanding in relation to the individual young person in front of them, professionals need to have access to theoretical accounts, which promote thought both more widely about the social forces constraining what they do, but also about what they can do today. Like Francis I question whether it is more justifiable *'simply to ironically criticise social practices than to look for constructive solutions and recommend suggestions for change'* (Francis 2000:20).

An account of the relations of power in school processes allows for the identification of the ‘... *chinks and cracks*’ and the margins on which power can be challenged (Simons 1995:109). A social justice based model of inclusion that recognises the continued force of exclusionary processes allows for a more complex construction of educational change in terms of conflict and dilemmas (Clark et al 1999, Munn et al 2000). The dilemmas perspective acknowledges that it is challenging for educational professionals to reflect on the social production of schooling in relation to competing imperatives and on the complexity and for them to acknowledge the dangers of labelling / categorisation, which can seem to deny the value of their practice. A complex multidimensional model of (S)EBD, of individual troubles in school might encourage the recognition of this but still acknowledge the existence of such individual troubles, indeed of some perhaps with a physical, biological dimension, and offer the opportunity to reconceptualise practice.

If the model involves a mix of different ways of understanding /theories with differing/varying emphases then it points to a mix of possible practice - not one answer or simple solutions but a complex range of approaches, related but at different levels and at different times. There can be no simple prescription of strategy to fit a category of ‘need’. But the range of practice, the possible strategies do not have to be complex in themselves. For example approaches to work with young people with troubles in their lives are often viewed as helpful by young people if they are based in equitable, non-judgemental, genuine relationships, rather than in highly professionalised interventions (Hill 1999); and effective if they are rooted in understanding, not only of individual biographies, but of the institutional processes in which they are mutually engaged. This approach can reject the medical notion of therapy but can reclaim the idea of therapeutic process, in a simpler model where the young people themselves can be involved in defining who and what help them to feel ‘better’, more in control of their lives or safer.

The critical inclusion perspective has clearly demonstrated the risks of reconstructing an institutional need for order into individual difficulty on the part of those pupils who challenge that order. Evidently schools must have a level of order and control in order to operate but this exercise of school disciplinary power intersects with wider relations of power. Inclusive approaches would therefore initially unpack actions identified as problematic in terms of how relationships between the teacher and the student are constructed in the classroom, rather than viewing them in terms of the characteristics of the individual pupil. However to acknowledge the individual troubles of young people is *not always* to impose a need for order and therefore the development of strategies

to support young people with troubles in schools may not always be about the relabelling of naughtiness as problems. The rejection of the psycho-medical paradigm is not to deny the value, of course sometimes, of medical intervention. Fox argued that, for example, that in rejecting the inappropriateness of medical certainties one should also criticise the 'bad medicine' model of some sociology of health. If educational professionals do not always act with benevolence towards young people neither do they always act simply in their own interests, but as I have argued in a much more complex negotiated balance of interests.

A social justice based approach to inclusion could assert the right of children and young people to be valued as human beings of worth in a school system, which reflects diversity but which tries to reduce the inequalities of difference and tries to model human relationships of warmth. A reconstructed notion of care would involve listening to the concerns of the young people and understanding the pressures of their lives. This would require professionals to engage in an ongoing consideration of their role in systems of classification and labelling, and the implications of these for the young people for their institutions and to explore and make explicit the structures of power they work within and, as Corbett argued, to acknowledge their humanity and reflect on their power (Corbett 1998).

Professionals, as human beings, may empathise with the troubles experienced by some young people, while working to avoid their construction as victim or sufferer, recognising the idea of human need as valid while rejecting the notion that this can be measured against some objectively established norm. This model might offer the possibility of understanding of how relationships between carers and the cared for might be potentially empowering for the latter, based not in discourses of *'the role of the medical but in relations of trust, generosity and confidence'* (Fox 1993:71).

This model would acknowledge pupils and parents as those with expert knowledge of their lives. Professionals could understand and describe the troubles of young people as much as possible in an everyday, non-medicalised language, while at the same time recognising that they, the young people and their parents are part of a constant redefining of discourses, interpreted and represented in both the mass media and everyday interaction. School staff might explore their own cultural assumptions in relation to the cultures of their communities, forming alliances with parents and with those groups promoting economic and social equality, rather than simply joining up to respond to deviance. Support provided through informal neighbourhood based networks both of young people and their families can be ongoing, informal and non-stigmatising.

Such an approach to inclusion would recognise the need for vigilance in relation to the newer forms of segregated/exclusive practice identified by the radical inclusion literature and show ‘ *a commitment to the disadvantaged, a promotion of equity, participation in common institutions and non-oppressive practices... to anti-discrimination and the valuing of individuals* (Clark et al 1998:160-161). It could encourage everyone to ‘*know what they do... know why they do what they do ... (and) know what they do does*’ (Allan 1999:6). Professionals could resist the destructiveness of much sorting and classifying of individual young people, reflect critically on the process of identification and labelling of individual young people, explore their own participation in a range of social processes at different levels, understand the operations of complex structural forces from the individual to the state, while still developing supportive practices in response to the troubles of some young men and women in school.

THE RESEARCH PROJECTS

In this section I describe the projects to which the nine papers refer. I give a brief outline of the research, the methods used and the people involved.

Methods used in the projects

The methods used in the research projects were diverse, although the most frequently used method was that of interviewing, mainly semi-structured interviewing using a prepared checklist .

- Interviews with young people (Papers 1,2,3,4,5,8)
- Interviews with school staff and other professionals (Papers 1,4,5,8)
- Questionnaires (Paper 8)
- Gathering of statistical data. Number of pupils in out of school alternative education provision and number returning to mainstream (Paper 1). Pupils excluded from school, numbers excluded, a range of information on the pupils and on the process of exclusion. (Paper 8)
- Case studies of pairs of schools (Paper 8)
- Documentary analysis of policy papers, school files (Papers 1,8) and of newspaper articles (Paper 6).

REINTEGRATION TO MAINSTREAM

(Paper 1)

This project investigated the policy and practice of reintegration to mainstream school of pupils, who had been placed in special educational provision for pupils with ‘social, emotional and behavioural difficulties’. It explored the meaning in practice of the concept of ‘SEBD’, the official label used in the Scottish education system for children considered to require special support because of their behaviour or concerns about their personal and social development. This project was funded by the Moray House Research Committee through its allocation of the SHEFC research grant.

Data was gathered using both quantitative and qualitatively based methods. All pupils from two Scottish authorities in any alternative education setting for ‘SEBD’ over a two-year period were traced and counted (615); those returning to mainstream school were identified and followed up (39). Semi-structured interviews were carried out with school staff and young people in both special and mainstream schools

Roles and responsibilities:

Gwynedd Lloyd: Original conception. Project design and planning. Application for funding and for research assistance. Data collection. Analysis. Discussion of findings. Writing up of research report and subsequent article.

Pauline Padfield: Research assistant. Project planning. Data collection. Analysis. Discussion of findings.

Paper 1

Lloyd, G & Padfield, P 1996 Reintegration to Mainstream - Gi'e Us Peace! *British Journal of Special Education*. 23. 4. 180 -186

Publication from this project not submitted for this award

Lloyd, G & Padfield, P 1995 *Reintegration to School*. A Research Report Moray House Publications

SCHOOL AND AFTER

A follow up study of the post-school experience of young women with 'SEBD'

(Papers 2 and 3)

This study explored the expectations of 20 young women in their final school year and then investigated their subsequent experience of work and personal life after school. They were young women who had been identified with 'social, emotional and behavioural difficulties' and had been placed in special provision, from special support in mainstream school to secure accommodation. Semi-structured interviews were held with the young women while still of school age. They were then traced, with some considerable difficulty, two years later and re-interviewed. This study also explored the meaning in practice of SEBD, discussed issues to do with the effectiveness of special provision and the idea of the underclass. This project was funded by the Moray House Research Committee through its allocation of the SHEFC research grant.

Roles and responsibilities:

Gwynedd Lloyd: Original conception. Project design and planning. Application for funding and research assistance. Data collection. Analysis. Discussion of findings. Writing articles.

Anne O'Regan: Research assistant. Tracing participants and interviewing (second stage of project) Discussion of findings.

Paper 2

1999 Lloyd, G & O'Regan, A. Education for Social Exclusion? Issues to do with the effectiveness

of educational provision for young women with 'social, emotional and behavioural difficulties'.

Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties 4. 2. 38 46

Paper 3

2000 Lloyd, G. & O'Regan, A. "You have to learn to love yourself cos no-one else will." Young women with 'social, emotional or behavioural difficulties' and the idea of the underclass. *Gender and Education* 12. 1. 39 -52

EXCLUSION AND TRAVELLER PUPILS

(Papers 4 and 5)

This small study was developed in the context of evidence, from the Scottish Office funded study of exclusion from school (see below) and anecdotally from Traveller support workers, of the disciplinary exclusion from school of Traveller pupils. It explored the views of school professionals and of Gypsy and Show Traveller young people and their parents. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with school staff (31), Gypsy and Show Traveller young people (18), parents (24) and Traveller support workers (18). Focus group discussions were carried out with Traveller support workers. This project raises issues to do with the relationship of difference and deviance in school. It identified wide scale name-calling of Traveller pupils. This project was funded by the Moray House Research Committee through its allocation of the SHEFC research grant.

Roles and responsibilities:

Gwynedd Lloyd: Original conception. Project design and planning. Application for funding and research assistance. Data collection. Analysis. Discussion of findings. Writing up of research report. Articles.

Elizabeth (Betty) Jordan : Consultant on Traveller literature and research. Project planning. Interviews. Data analysis.

Claire Norris: Research assistant. Project planning. Data collection. Analysis. Discussion of findings.

Joan Stead: Research assistant, replacing Claire Norris. Data collection. Analysis. Discussion of findings.

Writing up of research report.

Mitchell Miller: Research assistant (from Show Traveller family). Interviews with Show Traveller parents and pupils.

Paper 4

Lloyd, G & Norris, C 1998 From Difference to Deviance; The Exclusion of Gypsy Traveller Pupils from School. *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 2. 4. 59 -369

Paper 5

Lloyd,G & Stead,J 2001 "The boys and girls not calling me names and the teachers to believe me." Name calling and the Experiences of Travellers in School. *Children in Society* 15. 361-374

Publications from this project not submitted for this award.

Lloyd, G Stead, J Jordan, B and Norris, C. 1999 Teachers and Gypsy Travellers *Scottish Educational Review* 31. 1. 48-65

Lloyd,G Stead,J Jordan,B (with Norris,C & Miller,M) 1999 *Travellers at School: The Experience of Parents, Pupils and Teachers*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh

Lloyd, G with Stead,J 2002 Including Gypsy Travellers in education *race equality teaching* 21/1/21/24

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF A PSYCHIATRIC DISORDER

(Paper 6)

This project involved an content analysis of newspaper articles from a three-year period, on the phenomenon of the rapid rise in public awareness of Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder in the UK and the identification of the 'disorder' and prescription of medication. The study raised issues, common to all the projects, about the understanding of behaviour considered deviant in children and young people and about what influences the professional construction and labelling of deviant behaviour in an educational context. This project was funded by the Moray House Research Committee through its allocation of the SHEFC research grant.

Roles and responsibilities:

Gwynedd Lloyd: Original conception. Project design and planning. Application for funding and research assistance. Data collection. Analysis. Discussion of findings. Writing articles.

Claire Norris: Research assistant. Data collection. Discussion of findings. Writing second article.

Paper 6

Lloyd, G & Norris, C 1999 Including ADHD? *Disability and Society* 14, 4, 505 -517

Publication from this project not submitted for this award.

Norris, C & Lloyd, G 2000 Parents, Professionals and ADHD - What the Papers Say. *European Journal of Special Needs Education* 15, 2,123 -137

RESIDENTIAL HISTORIES

(Paper 7)

A small study of historical materials in two residential schools for pupils with 'social, emotional or behavioural difficulties', to provide illuminative examples for a historical account of residential schools in Scotland.

Paper 7

Lloyd, G 2000 From Ragged to Residential Schools in *Compendium of Scottish Ethnology 11 : Institutions of Scotland: Education*, ed. H Holmes, European Ethnological Research Centre, Edinburgh.

EXCLUSION FROM SCHOOL AND ALTERNATIVES

(Paper 8)

This was a project funded, through a process of competitive tender, by the Scottish Office. It aimed to map the use of disciplinary exclusion across Scotland, to explore the exclusion process, gather information about excluded pupils and to investigate in-school alternatives to exclusion. The research was undertaken by a research team led by Pamela Munn. The gender analysis of the data was undertaken by myself, and the submitted article written, subsequent to the main investigation.

This, a much larger project than the others discussed here, involved a wide range of methods. Conceptually it began with constructing a national picture of disciplinary exclusion and alternatives and then progressively focussed down to the level of the school and then the individual excluded pupil and their family. The first stage involved a questionnaire to schools, followed by a series of telephone interviews with Headteachers. The second involved case studies of pairs of high and low excluding schools with similar populations. The third stage was to interview excluded pupils and their families from each of these schools. A research and literature analysis on out of school alternatives to exclusion was also carried out (Cullen and Lloyd 1997).

Roles and responsibilities:

Pamela Munn: Led the research team. Project planning. Data collection. Analysis. Discussion of findings. Writing research reports, book and articles.

Gwynedd Lloyd: Project planning. Data collection. Analysis. Discussion of findings. Writing research reports, book and articles.

Margaret Johnstone: Research fellow: Project planning. Data collection. Analysis. Discussion of findings. Writing research reports.

Mairi Anne Cullen: Research assistant. Project planning. Data collection. Analysis. Discussion of findings.

Writing research reports, book and articles.

Paper 8

Lloyd, G. 1999 Gender and Exclusion in Salisbury, J & Riddell, S *Gender and Policy in Education*. London: Routledge

Publications from this project not submitted for this award.

Munn, P Lloyd, G & Cullen, MA. 2000 *Exclusion from School and Alternatives*. London: Paul Chapman

Cullen, M Johnstone, Lloyd, G & Munn, P 1996 *Exclusion from School and Alternatives - Three Reports*. Moray House Publications

Munn, P Cullen, M Johnstone, & Lloyd, G 1997 *Exclusion from School and In-school Alternatives*. Interchange 47, Scottish Office, Edinburgh.

Cullen, MA & Lloyd, G 1997 *Alternative Education Provision for Excluded Pupils. A Literature Review for the Scottish Office*. Moray House Publications

Munn, P Cullen, MA Johnstone, M & Lloyd, G 2001 Exclusion from School: a view from Scotland of policy and practice *Research Papers in Education* 16: 1; 23-42

FINAL SUBMITTED PAPER

(Paper 9)

Lloyd, G. 1997 Deviance and Gender in School – Integrating the Thinking. *Scottish Educational Research Association Conference Proceedings*. Glasgow: SERA

This article was included on the advice of the Senatus Postgraduate Studies Committee who felt that, as a single authored article, it contributed to the overall sense that this submission represented my own ideas.

Reintegration into mainstream? 'Gi'e us peace!'

Gwynedd Lloyd and Pauline Padfield

Gwynedd Lloyd, Senior Lecturer in Special Education at Moray House Institute, Edinburgh, and Pauline Padfield, Doctoral Researcher at the University of Edinburgh, discuss the findings of a study in Scotland on how well children reintegrate to mainstream schools from placements in special provision for social, emotional or behavioural difficulties.

Introduction

The results of the study indicated that, despite a policy context emphasising the maintenance of children in mainstream schools, most of the pupils who were placed in special provision did not return to the mainstream, even when they had been referred early in their school careers. The findings raise questions about the purpose of segregated provision and the relationship of special schools and units to mainstream primary and secondary schools, whose staff tend to say 'Gi'e us peace', meaning 'leave us alone, we've had enough!'

Background

In 1990, a report was published by HM Inspectorate in Scotland on the educational provision for pupils with 'social, emotional and behavioural difficulties.' It found that:

'All regions stated that their professed policy towards pupils placed in alternative forms of educational provision was to reintegrate them as quickly as possible.' (p.8)

Anecdotal evidence and our initial discussions with field professionals suggested that the rate of reintegration was, however, very low. Research in other educational systems found little evidence of successful reintegration, (Topping, 1983; Lloyd Smith, 1984; Tattum, 1989; Cooper, 1993) but there have been no substantial research conclusions published in Scotland.

The Scottish context

The Scottish education and social welfare systems are more centralised and homogeneous (with a different legislative base) than those in England and Wales. Consequently, the pace and style of educational reform has been slower and more consultative than in England and Wales (Riddell & Brown, 1994). The differences also reflect the less confrontational political style of the Scottish Office in recent years and the greater power of the regions.

Children who are considered to have a special educational need that is 'pronounced, complex' and 'of a continuing nature' have a Record of Need (similar to the English

Statement), established by the regional education authorities, and are often referred to as 'Recorded pupils'. Decisions about children who may be considered to require compulsory measures of care or control within a social work context are made in the Children's Hearing System which is underpinned by a strongly welfare based ideology. (For further information on the System, and its relationship to education, see Schafer, 1992)

In the 1980s the larger Scottish regions had been developing policies, often described as 'Youth Strategies', which represented a commitment to the redirection of resources towards the maintenance of children and young people in their local schools and communities (rather than in special or residential schools) and to the development of inter-professional and inter-departmental structures. The intention of these policies was to minimise formal (especially statutory) intervention in the lives of children and families and to maximise the informal support available. Some additional resources were put into schools to encourage the development of pupil-support schemes, group work and counselling, and regular school-based inter-agency meetings were set up in secondary schools. These were called *joint assessment teams* or *school liaison groups*. Out of school, neighbourhood and region-wide youth social-work and support projects continued to develop the alternatives to care and intermediate treatment set up in the 1970s. In some regions joint decision-making, and sometimes joint funding, was developed at a regional level between education and social work departments. Pickles (1992), however, emphasised that:

'Elsewhere in Britain, such collaborative practices tend to be restricted to particular aspects of work with children in difficulty such as child abuse or juvenile justice. The broader approach, which has always been an aspect of Scottish child care, has permitted the development of youth strategies although ... their emergence has not been without significant difficulties in the translation of fine principles into real practice on the ground.' (p.63)

These youth strategies were later paralleled by policies on the provision for pupils with special educational needs which tended to support a broad view while maintaining the necessity for the continuation of limited specialist provision (Thompson, Riddell & Dyer, 1990; Allan, Brown & Riddell, 1995).

Thus the context of this research was a broad commitment, in both education and social work departments in all the major Scottish regions, to inclusive policies of *least* intervention and *maximum* support, with interprofessional

decision-making structures intended to maintain pupils in their own families and in their local schools. Where special provision was to be used, the purpose of placement, except for those in their final year of schooling, was to return the pupil to a mainstream school. Reintegration was expected to be a principal aim of special schools and units.

The research aims

The aims of the research were to:

- investigate the extent and practice of reintegration into primary and secondary schools of pupils from special schools and units for children with 'social, emotional or behavioural difficulties';
- identify the factors which influenced successful reintegration and those associated with failure.

We also wished to consider gender differences, particularly as they are often ignored in the literature, where the terms 'pupils' or 'students' are used synonymously with 'boys' (e.g. in Cooper, 1993).

Research methods

The research concentrated on two regions (local authorities) in urban, central Scotland, and data was collected, over two years, on all children (from these regions) who were in full-time provision for 'social, emotional or behavioural difficulties'. No judgements were made on the nature or definition of 'social, emotional or behavioural difficulties' but all those were included who had been officially labelled as such for placement through education or social work procedures, including Children's Hearings. The information was collected, with the co-operation of the regions, through regional education and social work records, school registers and educational psychologists' and social workers' case files. The collection and interpretation of the data was a difficult and complex task, reflecting the varying methods of recording the information in the different schools, departments and regions. Neither region held all the information centrally. We recorded and analysed data for all these pupils on sex, date of birth, kind of establishment(s) attended, referral agency, date of entry, date of exit, previous school and destination on exit.

Qualitative data was collected through formal semi-structured interviews with the heads of the regional schools, a sample of heads of independent schools and social work establishments, regional staff, educational psychologists and with children and young people. Further illumination was provided by informal interviews with teachers in mainstream and special schools, psychologists and pupils. Notes and recordings of interviews were then analysed and coded according to categories generated by the data.

The findings are limited as they are essentially descriptive and cannot claim to be generalisable. They reflect the weakness of research which is largely qualitative, and also the strengths of an approach which values the views and judgements of respondents. Our intention was to provide a picture which would be recognised and understood by participants in the field.

Findings

615 pupils were identified in 49 establishments, including day units, day special and residential schools, of which 21 were owned and managed by the regions through education or social work departments and 28 were independently owned by private individuals or charitable organisations or trusts. These pupils formed a very small proportion of the total school population: about 0.7% in one authority and 0.4% in the other. Three quarters were in day placements; the others in residential schools.

Reintegration was unusual

Reintegration to mainstream schools from full-time alternative placements was rare in both regions. During the two year period of the case study, only 39 pupils returned to mainstream schools. Of these, 21 were still in mainstream by the time of our follow up, and 11 had been permanently excluded or were again in (or waiting for a full-time place in) an alternative education setting. Often reintegration was not in the pupil's original neighbourhood school.

Many pupils were spending long periods of their school life in full-time alternative provision. Earlier identification and referral to full-time placement (or full-time alternative placement) did not appear to increase the possibility of reintegration; most pupils remaining within full-time alternative provision for the rest of their school lives.

Mainstream schools were seen to be resisting

Staff of the alternative schools perceived mainstream school staff as being resistant to reintegration.

'Mainstream schools are saying "gi'e us peace!". The current climate in schools will lead to more barriers to reintegration; the job will be harder and harder.'

(Head teacher of a day special school)

'The teachers' work load means that they are saying "no, no you are not dumping any more kids on us."'

(Head teacher of a special school)

Reintegration was often seen as a kind of professional favour: special provision staff using connections or identifying particularly sympathetic mainstream colleagues.

'So you might be philosophical, the policy that everybody is saying they agree with but when it comes down to getting kids in it is whether or not you can develop these relationship links... I phoned a friend of mine who is an Art teacher and who works in B Academy and I told him the problem and I asked if he could do anything about it and he says "... right I will take them (for 3 periods of art a week)." It wasn't based on a regional thing, an educational thing, it was based on pure luck that I had a friend who was an Art teacher.'

(Head teacher of a special school)

Pupils did not have a right of access to mainstream schools. Several staff also expressed particular anxieties about the impact of the impending Devolved School Management (the Scottish version of Local Management of Schools).

'DSM must make it more difficult to get back into schools. In the past we've been able to use the EO (Education Officer) to say "they must!"'

(Project leader)

A question of support?

A high level of targeted financial support was seen to be crucial and staff in both sectors saw the level and quality of support, during transition to mainstream schools, as central to successful reintegration:

'The quality of reception from the receiving school is absolutely critical; our experience tells us that.'

(Head teacher of a residential school)

The special schools and units were not staffed in order to provide the necessary amount of contact for support during transition to the mainstream. Several heads would have liked to be able to provide transitional support:

'From this school's point of view the first factor against is human resources because it requires a lot of preparation before it is even feasible, and by that I mean, number one the amount of preparation that has to go into it before just discussing it with a local secondary school, provided they are prepared to take them. There are no formal links in this area with any of the mainstream schools in the sense that they have an obligation... they can refuse at any time they want.'

(Head teacher of a special school)

Alan, who returned to mainstream twice (the second time successfully) was aware of the importance of the support that he was given:

'I could cope with the work a'right the second time, 'cos the first time I was there there was'nae as much remedial help. And then they changed it aw, like, there was mair remedial help... because there was only one remedial teacher at school the first time.... the second I went back there was about ten... ken what I mean? ... right! So they got it aw changed.'

Reintegration was seen by some staff to be more likely if it was the principal task of the special school or unit, with a climate that created an expectation of a return to mainstream:

'I think for reintegration the whole atmosphere within the school has to be reintegration. You have to push it all the time, otherwise it doesn't work.'

(Head teacher of a special school)

'It may work if your school is for reintegration and you're pushing it all the time, the pupils therefore see it as a likely outcome to the placement, whereas a school like this you see it as an unlikely outcome.'

(Head teacher of a special school)

Many staff felt that reintegration would be more likely if the right pupils were selected, but there was no agreement as to how they could be identified. Most school staff believed that there would always be pupils for whom a placement in a mainstream school would be unrealistic:

'If you're going to do it, you've got to get the kids you can do it with, or you could forget mainstream.'

(Head teacher of a primary unit)

There was a feeling that as the pupils became more settled in the alternative provision reintegration became less feasible:

'When you take kids into the unit you've got to keep the connection with the parents' school because as soon as you bring them away from there, what happens is that they become dependent on the alternative units.'

(Head teacher of a special unit)

There was wide agreement that reintegration was easier if children were selected for an alternative provision using *appropriateness for reintegration* as the criterion. There was, however, no agreement on how to identify *appropriate* children.

The importance of the family

Co-operation with children's families was seen as important and as one of the strengths of some alternative schools and units. Residential staff believed that major obstacles to reintegration were the difficulties that children and young people experienced when they returned to live with their families. Help at such a time is as important as backing and support when a child returns to school. Staff in day placements also pointed to the improved relationships that many parents had with the alternative educational establishments.

'Some parents would be very, very reluctant were it to be possible for a youngster to return to the school that they had hitherto attended ... the parents have been in school more often than the janitors in some of these places.'

(Head of a residential school)

The place of special provision in a policy of integration?

Staff in both day and residential schools were concerned for the future of alternative provision in the regional context of an emphasis on integration. Many felt that their service was not valued, that new developments and policies had not taken account of their views, and that the future for their schools was very uncertain. They also believed that the development of youth strategies and integrationist policies would lead to an under-valuing of their service. The consequent overemphasis on reintegration and the smaller numbers of children returning to mainstream would inevitably lead to a sense of failure:

'I think I'm just a thumb-sticker in the dyke!'

(Head teacher of a residential school)

Staff were, however, strong in their assertion of their specialised skills in working with pupils, who were failed by mainstream schools. Several saw their school as providing a *haven* where stronger relationships could be built. Others emphasised the educational opportunities provided by smaller groups, which in many ways heightened their sense of frustration as they were working hard in emotionally

demanding circumstances and providing a service which was seen as marginal to the *real* education system.

‘They are draining your life out of you. You go home at night and take it out on your kids. I have given it all away at school so you have nothing left when you get home.’
(Head teacher of a day special school)

Staff of the alternative schools felt that they had a specialised skill and knowledge which could be of use to mainstream schools. Children and young people themselves identified the strengths of alternative placements in terms of smaller scale, greater levels of support, positive relationships with staff and protection from pressures. ‘It was a wee-er class and it was mair easier to work in’ (Elma). But many also regretted the loss of their mainstream school peer group and were conscious of the stigma of the special school.

Girls

There were many fewer girls than boys in the alternative schools and units: 22% in one region; 18% in the other. In one, 21% of the boys and 27% of the girls were in residential schools; in the other the proportion was the same. More girls (proportionately) in the first region returned to mainstream schools, which represented seven out of only 16 children reintegrating in total for that area.

Girls were often in a small minority in their school or class, which is illustrated by the following table showing the proportion of girls to boys in the sixteen mixed schools in the two regions. The only school which had a relatively similar proportion of girls to boys was one which catered exclusively for children with attendance problems. Thus there was a numerical under-representation of girls in schools where admission was likely to be more associated with disruptive or delinquent behaviour (McCluskey, Maclean & McNairney, 1996).

The smaller proportion of girls was seldom considered by Heads to be a problem, as it was the policy of several schools to ensure that girls were in a minority: ‘I wouldn’t go above ten or eleven girls, ideally about eight’ (Head of a

residential school with 34 pupils). Kate, one of the girls in the school had been the only girl in her previous special day unit. The head of the school added:

‘We never have them in sufficient numbers to form a group ... I think the issue with girls is that they are much more motivated by group pressures and they can use it against you in much more negative ways.’

The head of a special school also commented:

‘Girls are ... they mature a lot quicker than boys and they personalise, whereas boys carry on.’

And an additional point was that:

‘... one of the problems that exists... is there are so many, too many taboos around the sexual aspect. I think girls too are much more aware of their own sexuality and as such represent a bigger challenge to staff.’

(Head of a residential school)

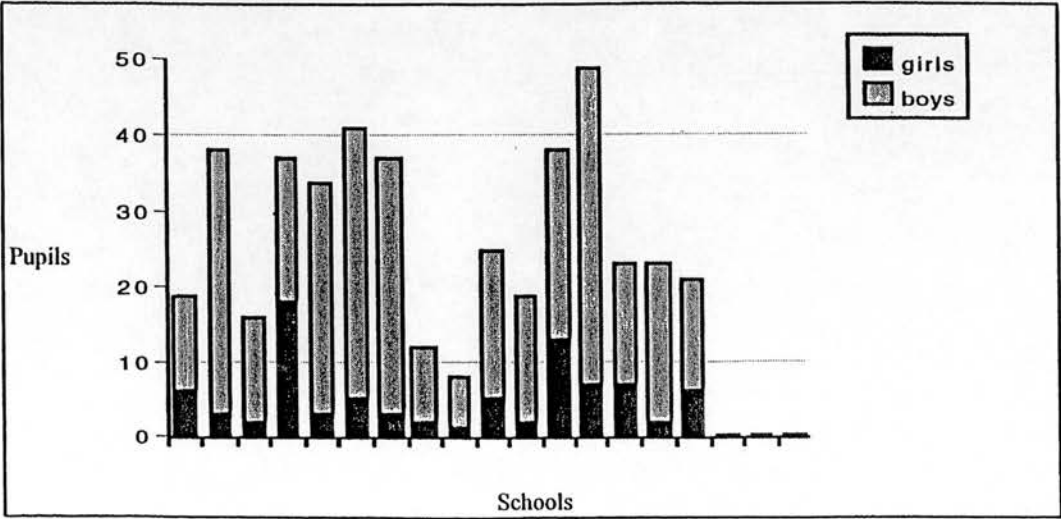
When this Head was asked about boys’ sexuality he said:

‘It is not that it is never problematic and I don’t know why it should be... it doesn’t seem to reach the same heights or engender the same sort of concerns. We have had within the school, youngsters who we think at various stages have indulged in what might have been considered homosexual practices and we have always come through it ... I suppose the biggest safeguard is to be blunt ... boys can’t get pregnant, girls can.’

The much smaller numbers of girls in specialised provision may imply that the difficulties experienced by girls are more adequately addressed by mainstream schools, or that the character of female deviance is less threatening (Davies, 1984; Houston, 1987).

Neither region had a specific policy on the gender issues involved in the identification, assessment and placement of girls who were considered to have social, emotional or behavioural difficulties.

Table 1: Proportion of girls to boys in the sixteen mixed schools in the two regions



'Social emotional and behavioural difficulties'

There were wide differences in the definition of 'social, emotional and behavioural difficulties'. Each region had different procedures for the identification and referral of children for special provision, but there was no official government or regional definition or criteria. The findings highlight the problems faced by professionals in describing and assessing the behaviour or needs of their pupils. Terms like 'SEBD' (social, emotional and behavioural difficulties) or 'maladjusted' tended to be used somewhat loosely as if there was a shared, clear and distinctive definition. The distinction was often made between disruptive behaviour, which appears unacceptable to teachers, and that which indicates some individual psychological difficulty on the part of the child, with a suggestion that the latter would apply to children in special provision. Discussions about individual pupils, however, suggested that the ability of a school to cope with their behaviour had been a key factor in a majority of cases of referral to specialised provision.

Accounts of pupils' difficulties clearly reflected the subjective perceptions of the professionals. It is not intended to suggest that individual professionals had not made considered and detailed responses to the individual circumstances of children. On the contrary, the picture that emerged was of hard-working groups of staff struggling to respond, in terms of their understanding of the needs of pupils, within a changing and complex professional context. Both regions were developing procedures to address the problem that the assessment process tended to reflect the individual, often idiosyncratic, judgements of particular schools, teachers and psychologists or social workers.

Identification and referral processes were seen by many staff to reflect increasingly the budgetary priorities of the regions. 'The problem is shaped by what is on offer.' This observation by a senior psychologist defines the picture that emerges from the data: a confusing range of provision, reflecting a history of individual and regional initiatives, where children's needs are inevitably defined in terms of available resources:

'I think that the big problem that exists is that lots of places have developed by accident rather than by design, it has been knee jerk reactions.'

(Head teacher of a day special school)

The financial basis of decision making

There was strong awareness of the financial basis of decision-making, summed up by a senior psychologist, as, '... everything's become budget-driven.' In line with their development policies, both regions (each of which had different patterns of provision and differing proportions of pupils in alternative provision) were rationalising and reorganising their provision and their financial arrangements. Both used independent or grant-aided schools outside the region: one had an organised youth strategy with structures for joint regional reviews of all possible residential placements; the other was moving towards such an arrangement and had separate budgetary facilities for funding placements.

'Education problems' or 'social work problems' ?

There was no clear difference between the populations processed through education and through the social work systems. The differences identified may have been determined more by the desired resource outcomes than by the characteristics of particular pupils.

Although in both regions efforts were being made to encourage closer collaboration between departments, there was still a firmly-held belief that some children had 'social work problems' which needed to be dealt with by Children's Hearings; others had 'education problems', addressed and processed by educational psychologists and finally solved by recourse to alternative provision. In practice, the distinction was far from clear as children tended to be moved from the social work sector to the education sector, and vice versa. In the words of one social work project leader, 'Basically they're the same children.'

Procedurally the decision to go through the Hearings, when there have been joint reviews may depend on:

'... whether the child needs an element of compulsion, as some children undoubtedly do, and the education legislation ... although it ought to cope with that, doesn't ... you can't compel a child to go to school with a Record of Needs.'

(Principal Psychologist)

There were differences in both policy and practice between the authorities over whether or not children with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties (SEBD) should have Records of Need.

'To Record or not to Record?... and the reasons for Recording seem to have little to do with children and more to do with some ideological decision made by whoever was head of the psychological services at that time... some regions will not put children into the school unless they're Recorded and others won't put them in if they are!'

(Head teacher of an independent residential school)

In one region, the policy was to Record pupils attending educationally recommended residential schools and not day placements. In practice, however, several pupils in day placements did have Records. In the other region, although there were some pupils in our sample with Records, the policy was not to Record pupils with SEBD, unless there was another associated special need. A recently reported Scottish office funded project found that, across Scotland, most pupils identified with SEBD were not Recorded (Allan et al., 1995).

Discussion

The findings of the research raise questions about the implementation of the policies of integration and youth strategy; about the idea of the 'continuum of provision' in Scotland; about the concept of 'social, emotional or behavioural difficulties'; and about gender. A view regularly stated in Scotland is that, as a result of recent policies, fewer children with social, emotional or behavioural difficulties are being placed in segregated provision, which is, however, not confirmed by any accurate Scottish statistics. Nevertheless,

there is evidence that while some special schools have closed, particularly in the residential sector, others, previously taking other groups of children, have altered their entry criteria to include children considered to have social, emotional or behavioural difficulties. Recent research on the integration of pupils with special educational needs suggests that the development of more systems of support in mainstream may widen the proportion of children included in this group, while not reducing the numbers being educated outside the mainstream (Allan et al., 1995).

The complex and difficult task of finding the children in this research, demonstrates the real difficulties that face both regions and central government in Scotland in collecting and interpreting data about the numbers and the placement of children and young people in the two separate systems: education and social provision. The complicated system of provision was the result of historical differences, regional policies, individual initiatives, differing departmental structures and ideologies, budgetary priorities, theoretical differences and both co-operation and conflict between professionals. The rates of referral and placement, and the character of the provision varied between the two case study regions; neither was keeping or monitoring the data in a unified, systematic way.

It demonstrated that children moved between the two systems, refuting the view that the education and social work provision was serving different populations with different characteristics. *Problems* were shaped by what was on offer. The education and social work systems of dealing with children and young people have different procedures and give different rights to children and families, which are difficult for them to understand. The professionals involved also experienced difficulties as they tended to understand the role of their own agency but were often unclear about the full range of provision and professionals potentially involved in the lives of these children.

Work with children with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties is permeated with professional dilemmas and paradoxes, exemplified in Dessent's (1989) observation that 'Helping kids can harm them'. Staff working in special provision were also aware that while they are offering smaller classes, a haven, warm relationships and were focusing in a more individual way on personal and social development, pupils do not have access to the full curriculum. Facilities were limited; curricular options reduced; buildings sometimes old, shared or adapted from other use. Staff were conscious too, of the arguments (from the debate on integration) on issues like labelling, the lack of access to peer groups, and the confirmation of a deviant career.

The concept of social, emotional and behavioural difficulties was not clearly defined but reflected the subjective views of

the professionals involved in the process of the assessment of individual children. Many professionals argued that it is important to view children's behaviour in its context and in a framework which emphasises the interaction between the child and the school, reflecting the level of support available. There is, however, some evidence of a return to a more individualised account of children's difficulties, away from the more interactionist or systems-based models (Cooper, 1995). A shift back to psychologically-based rather than sociologically-based understandings is apparent (children are suddenly discovered to have 'attention deficit disorder') although the situation may be less apparent in Scotland, where the official term includes the word 'social' reflecting the wider view. Galloway, Armstrong and Tomlinson (1994) argue, in an English context, that a perspective which defines children's difficulties in terms of individual disturbance, requiring specialist intervention, serves to remove the responsibility for the child from hard pressed mainstream teachers. The mainstream school staff in this research also emphasised their ever present dilemma concerning the needs of the few against those of the many.

The research findings themselves point to a lack of clarity over the continued role for special schools and units within a policy context which emphasises inclusion. Policy commitments to inclusion do not guarantee success in practice and the research points to a real tension between the descriptions of policy and its enactment in a more complicated *real world* where the character of provision lags behind the thinking. The recognition that reintegration is not likely for some children, by implication, accepts that some may spend substantial parts of their education in segregated provision.

Scotland is now moving to a new structure of more and smaller administrative authorities, each of which will fortuitously inherit the kind of special schools and units which happen to fall geographically within their territories. There is a possibility that children may be placed in this provision *because it is there*, and because the new authority has inherited financial responsibility. New policies and practices are, however, being developed. Now there is an opportunity to reconceptualise 'social, emotional or behavioural difficulties', acknowledging the multiple and, sometimes, conflicting uses of the term: as an administrative category in relation to access to resources or specialised provision; as a description of the behaviour of, or problems experienced by, children (boys and girls) and as an indication of the limits of tolerance of individual schools.

In a review of the use of special provision, the key question is whether the rights of children and families to specialised support are incompatible with a commitment to include all children within the mainstream educational community. The evidence suggests that there are no easy answers, but that the questions still need to be asked.

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EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL EXCLUSION? ISSUES TO DO WITH THE EFFECTIVENESS OF EDUCATIONAL PROVISION FOR YOUNG WOMEN WITH 'SOCIAL, EMOTIONAL AND BEHAVIOURAL DIFFICULTIES'

Gwynedd Lloyd & Anne O'Regan

This paper discusses the experience of mainstream school and special educational provision of some young women with 'social, emotional or behavioural difficulties', and asks questions about the outcomes and effectiveness of this kind of education in a policy context of inclusion. It argues for more public discussion of the role of alternative educational provision.

Introduction

There is very little recent research into the effectiveness and outcomes of special educational placement for pupils identified as having social, emotional and behavioural difficulties [(S)EBD]. By outcomes we mean the achievements of, and what happens to, the young people after their stay in alternative provision. By effectiveness we mean the assessment of these against defined standards. In a recent review of the literature on effectiveness and outcomes we argued that it was difficult to find a productive debate on this issue in a climate where the policy emphasis is on inclusion (Cullen and Lloyd, 1997). However despite such policies of inclusion in Scottish authorities there continue to be relatively constant numbers of children and young people placed in alternative out of mainstream school educational provision for SEBD. Even when there is discussion of effectiveness it rarely considers the aspect of gender.

The literature on deviance in school still mainly fails to take account of the experience of girls (Lloyd 1998; Crozier and Anstiss 1995). Discussion of disruptive or disaffected 'pupils' or 'students' often turns out only to be about boys (Cooper 1993; Colville Craig 1995). Research into the incidence of disruptiveness and disciplinary exclusion from school shows a clear majority of boys (Blyth and Milner 1996; Cullen et al, 1997) and the processes of identification and placement of boys and girls in alternative provision are clearly gendered (Lloyd and Padfield, 1996). Scottish exclusion research found boys to be between three and four times more likely to be excluded. Yet when 176 head teachers were asked what they thought were the salient issues about exclusion only two mentioned gender! (Cullen et al, 1997). By

implication, often, girls do not get into trouble at school, commit crimes - because they are not boys. However 600 girls had been excluded at least once from the 120 schools in the sample of the Scottish exclusion project. Over 80% of pupils in Scottish special educational provision for 'social, emotional or behavioural difficulties' are male. In 1996 of 1,685 pupils in such provision 270 were girls. These constitute a significant minority of girls in the system whose experiences are not discussed. In this paper we describe the views of some young women on their experience of mainstream school, special provision and professional intervention in their lives. We relate these to some ideas about effectiveness and argue that there should be a wider debate.

Social emotional or behavioural difficulties (SEBD)

This is the label used by educational professionals in Scotland to describe and formally process children or young people who are troublesome or troubled in school. It has no official definition, but is, rather, a subjective professional judgement, implying one or more of the following.

- We believe this child is experiencing problems more severe than those experienced by most children.
- We are finding this child's behaviour in school extremely difficult to cope with.
- We find this child's behaviour strange and disturbing. We think that this child's social, emotional, psychological and/or educational development is at risk unless some help is provided.
- We consider that someone more expert than ourselves should become involved with this problem.
- This child has been assessed as having SEBD and therefore requires special support/resources (Munn and Lloyd, 1998).

We use the term in this sense as an administrative category rather than as an individual psychopathology on the part of the young women in our study. (There is an interesting difference between this term and that of

Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties (EBD), used in England and Wales, perhaps suggesting a greater awareness in Scotland of the social context of individual behaviour).

In Scotland the provision does not reflect the English distinction between provision for EBD and provision for excluded pupils, with the implication of worthiness of the first group and unworthiness of the second. There are however two routes into alternative provision, the 'educational' route through assessment of special educational need and the second, the 'social welfare' route through a decision of a Children's Hearing. However the selection of school in most authorities, especially if this involves a residential or expensive placement, will then be made by a multidisciplinary group. Most alternative educational provision will have children placed by both routes, although there is some degree of specialisation. The two systems offer different rights and procedures to children and families, which can be confusing. Often educational professionals too are unclear about their operation (Lloyd and Padfield, 1996).

What counts as effectiveness?

The literature on the effectiveness of provision tends to refer to three different, although related, sets of standards:

1. Adherence to key principles
2. Fulfilment of aims and objectives
3. Meeting individual needs (Cullen and Lloyd, 1997).

1: Adherence to Key Principles

The first key principle, often invoked, recognises the rights of the mainstream majority to a safe and orderly environment. This view assumes the causes of disruption to be within individual children whose placement out of the mainstream thereby ensures the rights of the majority. A second refers to the rights of individual children as specified in the UN Convention and in the Children (Scotland) Act 1995. This may be problematic as these rights are not specified in educational legislation. A third invokes the right of integration into the mainstream, referring to the Salamanca Statement and similar assertions that educational decision making should be based on the equality of human worth (UNESCO, 1994). This is sometimes translated into a principle of least intrusive intervention (Kendrick, 1995).

2. Achievement of Aims and Objectives

These tend to include the aims and objectives for the educational system as a whole, including specification

of the curriculum and application of national testing and examinations (Cole and Visser, 1998). Other aims and objectives include those set by the local council, those of particular establishments and those of individuals involved in the work. Increasingly these aims include financial notions of best value. It is clear, and will be illustrated later, that there is likely to be conflict between these different aims and objectives.

3. Meeting of Individual Needs

The special educational legislation in Britain is based around the notion of the assessment and meeting the individual need. This is problematic in various areas of special education but is obviously particularly so in relation to the notion of social emotional and behavioural difficulties which refers to a subjective judgement made in relation to the actions of child in a social context. The literature tends to refer to such professionally perceived notions of needs rather than those defined by the participants. There are some accounts of the views of young people but these tend to be obtained while they are still attending the alternative provision and often by members of staff in the establishments (Cooper, 1993; Craig, 1995; Hill, 1997).

The literature on effectiveness tends, as argued above, to refer to one or more of these standards, although often implicitly rather than with clear specification. A recent study, described in a book entitled 'Effective Schooling for Pupils with Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties', reports on a wide survey of special schools for EBD in England (Cole et al, 1998). They draw together the elements which they argue characterise a 'proficient' school. The authors, while developing an interesting and useful account of practice in such establishments, do not discuss how this relates to broader issues of effectiveness or to the problematic and potentially conflicting definitions implied within the concept itself.

The research

The project discussed in this paper was a small scale, qualitatively based study of the views of young women who had been identified as having social, emotional and behavioural difficulties. Interviews were carried out with twenty young women in range of settings in their last year of compulsory schooling. They agreed to be interviewed again after leaving school. Despite huge practical problems in trying to find the young women we eventually traced 15, of whom we interviewed 14 and the parents of the fifteenth. All names of people and establishments have been changed.

Table 1, below, gives information from the first interview and Table 2 shows their domestic and work situation at the time of the second interview. This paper concentrates on a discussion of their educational experiences. A more detailed account of their domestic circumstances is given elsewhere (Lloyd and O'Regan, in preparation).

First interview (20 young women)	
Current school	
at mainstream secondary	2
excluded from school/left early/didn't go	5
residential school	8
day alternative educational placement	5
Experience of mainstream schools	
Truanted	10
truanted and disruptive	4
excluded	4
attended and difficulties	1
don't know	1
Living (at time of 1st interview)	
residential school and/or care	9
home (mother)	5
home (both parents)	3
own flat (after leaving care)	3
Baby	
while school age	2

Table 1

Several had been to many mainstream schools, the most was 16. Some had been in multiple care situations, and in and out of their own or foster families, children's homes and residential schools.

Second Interviews (15 young women)	
Pregnancy/baby	
baby	8
(miscarriages)	1
Of above 9	
living with baby's father	2
still relationship with baby's father	1
occasional contact with baby's father	1
no contact with baby's father	3
no contact with baby/baby's father	1
Marriage	
no plans/opposed	14
engaged but no plans to marry	1
Living (2nd interview)*	
at mothers' home (+father)	3 (1)
own tenancy	5
own tenancy with boyfriend	1
boyfriend's flat	1
homeless/with friends	3
secure accommodation	1
(Un)employment	
never worked	4
some work/training	9
currently working/supported training	2

Table 2

* The table indicates where they were living at the time of interview 1.

However from the interviews it was clear that many of the young women lived more complex lives than suggested above, often in households with a varying membership of members of their extended family, their partners, children and friends. Even the young women who had their own tenancies didn't always stay there alone all of the time, some returning home sometimes, sometimes having other people living in their flat.

Views of mainstream school

We discussed their experiences of mainstream school in both interviews. Most of the young women were negative about their secondary school experience and several regretted their missed educational opportunities. Most of the young women talked about being absent from school; some had been excluded.

I didn't like school. I wasn't really at school. I didn't like it... I liked primary school... Just that there was a lot of people there and I get nervous when there's a lot. (Cath, mainstream school (sometimes) + evening support group).

Cath said she was also occasionally suspended from school for being "loud".

Tricia and Pat both saw their residential school placement as principally because of truancy, although they had also both committed offences. They had resisted the attempts of the professionals to get them to return to school.

Truancy. The attendance officer used to come round, she had these tartan leggings on - I wouldnae go any way with her - these skin tight jeans. Pure tartan! she goes do you want to go out for something to eat and we can talk about going back to school. I'm no' going anywhere with you dressed like that.

Susie regretted her missed schooling.

No I went to St George's at the beginning of second year, it was alright for a wee while but then a lot of troubles started, because I used to be in care and that didn't help either, I just used to go fighting and be really cheeky to the teachers, no' doing their work. If I could go back to school now I would go back. Then I left school and fell pregnant and now I've got him.

Gemma was permanently excluded and had a history of exclusion which she said was because she kept losing her temper in class.

I would end up saying something that would get me suspended. I lost a lot of education through it.

(Gemma was excluded, from mainstream school and therefore also from her part time support placement.) Gemma felt that her school had sometimes deliberately provoked her.

... the Rector and that and my guidance teachers they hated me. (Interviewer: Did they, why was that?) Because I was bad tempered. They would do anything in their power to wind me up so it would get my temper. One teacher got me expelled for saying hello in the corridor... I was going along saying hello, hello, hello.

She felt a keen sense of injustice

Then we got saying something to a teacher and she was just as bad as I was and I got made to apologise but she didn't apologise to me.

Looking back at her school in the second interview she saw her difficulties at school relating to her family reputation and to the school's lack of understanding of her feelings about the sudden death of her older sister.

I just couldn't cope with school. Too many of the teachers ... I mean you go to a school... it was like my surname had a reputation. Two of my sisters, I had three big sisters but ones dead. Two of my sisters were snobs but the other one ... she was quite rowdy like me. Because I wasn't like the other two that were bright and brainy ... it was like ... how can you no' be like your sisters? I was like ... I'm no' gonnae be like them... that made me ten times worse. The school just mucked me about. It was just too much to cope with at the time of my sister's death.

Mandy said she was given a bad time at school by teachers and pupils because of the reputation of her older sister. Many of her large family had been in trouble at school.

Aye, we just didn't like Churchill, it was just Churchill, my wee brother George, he's in a home now, he's at Nairn now and he has to go to Churchill one day a week and Amanda she was the same, ken, like me she got taken to the panel. (Children's hearing). So was Andrew, no one of us has actually stuck it except my brother John and Paul ... it was just things about in class. Everybody kent us.

Two of the girls said they had stopped going after '*some trouble with a laddie* (Joanne). Several described a picture that included difficulties in relations with teachers, problems with peers in school and how non-attendance becomes a pattern that is difficult to break:

Once you start dogging it you can't go back, because you get into a routine, and you really can't and even if you want to you can't do it... I wish I could have gone to school but I just couldn't. (Christine)

Others had friends who truanted with them. Evelyn in a residential school had been to several schools, found it difficult to settle in new schools and eventually stopped going altogether, truanting and offending with her pals.

I don't know, I just never went, I just didn't like it. It was just a case of oh I don't want to go back there again, and then it was just a case of I'll just not bother going out. And then we would just go away and do our own thing.

Rona, in a special school, didn't regret her lost schooling.

I dinnae ken ... I think it was just the crowd I got into, really, that started me getting into trouble, just the wrong crowd. I was alright at High school up until about third year. I was never off either. ... I just started falling behind once I got in with the crowd that I was with at that time. I hardly ever went to school once I got in with that crowd... that was it... I just lost all interest, altogether ... that was it.

It's like ... my Mum and that ... they all say oh I wish I was back at school, and she keeps on asking me do you not wish sometimes you'd stayed on at school ... no ... it doesn't bother me. In first and second year I used to say I'm staying on at school ... I'm going to do this and I'm going to do that ... by the time I was in third year I was not interested. I was fed up with it. (Rona)

For many of the girls their difficulties with school were seen to be connected with the failure of schools to recognise and accommodate changes and problems in their out of school lives. This is very clearly expressed by Ann who identifies the importance of one teacher who was willing to stick with her through her difficulties. Ann had been abused in more than one

situation. Her account of her schooling is long but included in full as it expresses the range of important issues so clearly.

... primary school I went to St Luke's and Kirkbrae. I really enjoyed school at first, when I was wee I remember in primary 2 and 3 I loved school, I really, really enjoyed it and I remember always getting everything right because my mum she done a lot of work with us at home for school, she enjoyed doing it as well. The first really bad experience I had at school that really made me stop and think was when I was in primary 4 and we had this headteacher called Miss Pullman and I wouldn't say I was bad but I was really chatty and I was talking to my friend and she pulled me up for me talking in the corridors because other kids were working and she got hold of me by my throat and she battered my back, she kept persistently hitting my back off this wee pillar thing, and my back was really bruised and it was really painful and that's when I started skiving, because I wouldn't go in because I was scared of this teacher but I wouldn't tell my mum, so I started skiving, so my mum took me out of that school St Luke's and put me into Kirkbrae and I started settling back down again and I was doing quite well ... when I was at Kirkbrae there was a time when my house went on fire where we were living and we got put in a decent house, so I missed a good three months of school there and that left quite a gap, but I managed to fill it back up quite easily. I remember catching up ok, I went to high school and that's when my parents had their divorce and my mum moved into C. (housing estate) and my dad stayed behind. At first I was missing a lot of school because I was staying at home with my mum because she was really upset so at first it wasn't really me that didn't want to go to school, it was just that I wanted to be with my mum because she couldn't handle it very well and then friction started between me and my mum and eventually at twelve and a half couldn't live with mum anymore, there was really too much going on and I moved out and moved in with my Aunt Helen who is a complete nutter and she kept me off school to watch her kids and to do her housework and generally just be her wee skivvy you know and she told me don't bother going to school you'll learn more here than at school. So I stayed with her for near enough a year. So that was a year I only turned up at school once every six months just to say hi I am still registered here.

I moved out my Aunt Helen's and into care and by this time I had missed that much of school that I just didn't want to know about it. They put me back into my mainstream classes and told me to go and I lasted about two days if I was lucky. It wasn't just the fact that I was so far behind it was also the fact that everybody knew that I was up for the laugh and it was the pressure from my peers to say something funny or do something and I couldn't handle it and I lasted two days and then I got introduced to Sophia (learning support teacher) and it was a first time I had ever met or ever known about her. We got talking and at a meeting it was decided that I would work from learning support based in learning support and work from all my classes there, so I thought that sounds ok. So I turned up and I was sitting there going "I cannae do it, I cannae do it", but Sophia she was fabulous she gave me a great pushing and I really did work hard in the learning support and I caught up with all my work. Considering that I missed near enough three, four years of school while I was here, there and everywhere, she really did help me quite a bit because I got better grades in my exams than some of the other kids who had been there every day. So its Sophia I've got to thank. She was really brilliant and there were a number of times when I just couldn't take it and she always gave me another chance.

Ann left school early to do a course in FE. Two years later she is working, living with her boyfriend in her own flat and is optimistic about her life. She is still in touch with Sophia. Her account is a complex pattern of difficulties at home, family changes, care, truancy, disruptiveness in class, unsympathetic (and cruel?) teachers and then finally, and fortunately from Ann's point of view, a teacher who was supportive and understanding. This story points to the difficulty of developing easy and straightforward accounts of social, emotional and behavioural difficulties - it shows the interaction between family, peer group, school, social context and the choices made by the individual woman. It also suggests that, despite the range of difficulties faced, support from an understanding professional at a point in the life of a young woman when she is looking for this, can be critical.

Views of alternative provision

Several of the young women in this study identified individual professionals as helpful. Equally there was a strong feeling that others had been interfering and had

not understood their lives. Their experience of certain professional forms of intervention influenced their views of the kind of support they would be willing to accept as young adults.

There was considerable consensus that the teachers in the alternative education provision were more reasonable, that they listened and that the young women could talk to them. In smaller classes teachers were more sympathetic to difficulty and you could ask for help.

They sit down and explain things to you when you are stuck and that and in mainstream school they just leave you sitting there. (Julie)

Most teachers are like do this, do that, you've got to do this or you're getting detention, they are not like that here, they ask if you want to do this or that... because you can talk to them, you couldn't talk to the teachers at other schools. (Rona)

Michelle, now in a special school, was critical of the support she got in her last school, identifying a common experience for girls in special provision, that they are in a small minority in a place dominated by boys.

Well they put me in Andrew Mackay (on site unit), which was like a small room, and mostly it was boys and that really got on my nerves as well because you know you get really smart comments and that.

Lesley had been in a secure unit with a small number of girls and a large number of boys, after she had been abused, in care, running away, drinking and committing offences. She felt safe there.

Dead nice and I felt dead safe and Moira (staff) was really nice, she's coming down to see me, we still keep in touch and I still keep in touch with my best mate who stays in Aberdeen, now, she's pregnant as well.

Lesley liked being one of a small number of girls but was critical of the limited curriculum options.

I got on a lot better with the boys than I did the lassies. Girls are right bitches, boys aren't like that ... St Andrews could have been a lot better, I mean all they had at Standard grade was English and Maths. (Lesley, Standard grade, Scottish equivalent of GCSE)

Several young women appreciated a more informal kind of support, where they felt.

You could talk to them and get a laugh, its no like staying in your own house, but its just like having pals, some of them, well they are all different, but some of them are just like your pals. (Evelyn)

The young women had made choices about the support too. Sometimes they acknowledge that the help was available but say they just weren't ready to take it.

... 'cos at the time I didn't want help. If I could do it over again I'd do a lot of things differently. (Susie)

Evelyn made an important point related to the arguments about effectiveness ie that different young women will have a variety of experiences and views of the same provision.

Some of them hate it in there, some of them like it and some of them aren't bothered.

Mary Ann was very critical of her first residential school but positive about her secure placement, yet Laura had been positive about the same first school.

I wouldnae wish my worse enemy on that place... It's a dump the staff they're cows basically ... I loved the secure unit, I didnae want to come out of it, I got fairly close to the staff, really close. (Mary Ann)

Dianne and Mandy were still both in contact with the staff in their off site support unit.

It wasn't anything to do with the education part... we only got an hour and three quarters a day, but we also did a group work session as well where everybody communicated with everybody else. (Mainstream) School was totally nippy because you'd go to somebody and it would be like ... come back at such and such a time, but at Moray if you walked up to Sheila or Jim and said can I speak to you ... aye sure come on. If you needed to speak there and then, they would take that time out and speak to you. But at school it was Oh come back here and come back then, but I need to speak to you now ... oh I haven't got time for all that. But at Moray you had somebody there to speak to you and they listened and they understood what you were saying to them. (Dianne) Jim and that they did care for me and all that ... they had a lot of time. (Mandy)

Susie and Tricia had respectively been excluded from, and stopped going to, the same unit.

I didn't like it. I didn't like their attitude... The people that were in it they acted as if they were better than everyone else, whatever they say, you had to do. (Susie)

So the same provision could be valued in retrospect by some young women and criticised by others. Most had mixed views, especially about residential provision; while several felt that they had been helped there they still wished that they had not had to go and that better support had been available to them in mainstream school. Although there is also the recognition that sometimes they chose not to accept the help that did exist. Where support was valued it was seen as informal, acknowledging the young women as individual human beings and not as intrusive. Several of the young women in the later interviews were clear that they were glad to be freed of what they saw as interfering professionals who had made decisions without understanding their lives, who *'didn't really understand what a young person was going through. It was just a job to them'* (Lesley).

The accounts of their school experience offered by these young women demonstrate how complex is the link between individual biographies and the structures of schooling. They are pessimistic about their experiences of much mainstream secondary education but also optimistic about some kinds of mainstream support. Sometimes such support is also rejected. It may be that young women, like Susie, at some times in their lives are unable to see the value of this support, which indicates the importance of its availability to young people when it makes sense to them, rather than simply when the professional decision-making specifies.

Often, however, the support offered in the alternative provision is valued more highly than that previously available in mainstream school. However even here this is not universally seen as helpful. It is often seen as positive in specific comparison with the mainstream, on the assumption that the desirable features of the alternative provision, for example smaller classes, more open relationships with adults and more support in class, could not have been available in the ordinary school (Cooper, 1993). There was regret by some young women for their wasted educational opportunities and the limited curriculum (Cullen and Lloyd, 1997; HMI, 1990). The same provision was valued quite differently in some cases.

In terms of the varied standards against which effectiveness is often set, the first was Adherence to Key Principles. One key principle, often invoked, recognises the rights of the mainstream majority to a safe and

orderly environment. The absence of most of these girls from mainstream classes may be seen by their teachers as positive for the majority. It is clear from the accounts of the young women that some of them were difficult for teachers to manage in class. Most however made their own decision not to attend. In any case as argued earlier, this standard is dependent on a narrow individualised notion of deviance. If the rates of exclusion from school reflect the character and ethos of the school (Cullen et al, 1996) then Gemma's exclusion, for example, may not have improved classroom relations.

Their experiences also pose some problems for the next key principle relating to the rights of children. Their placements through both educational and social welfare structures, reflecting a typically complex pattern of home, family and educational issues, highlight the difficulties of maintaining the rights specified in the Children (Scotland) Act 1995 when these are not recognised in education (Lloyd, 1997).

The third key principle referred to the right of all pupils to be educated with their peers. Their inclusion in the mainstream has ultimately been defined by professional decision-making but often in response to the decision to self exclude. This does raise an important qualification to the argument over inclusion, which is that young people themselves should have some say over the nature of what they wish to be included into. We cannot argue for inclusion into unsatisfactory educational experiences. These young women had not had constructive experiences of mainstream school but their comments suggest ways in which this could have been better.

A second set of standards referred to the *Achievement of Aims and Objectives*, the first of which increasingly expects alternative education provision to achieve the aims and objectives of the overall education system. The educational attainments of the young women in this study were not high when set against national standards, nor had they been offered the full range of the curriculum. They had however been offered a more individualised curriculum which they had in general valued. There is a well documented dilemma for alternative educational provision between the emphasis on the full range of the mainstream curriculum and a more creative, individualised response to disaffected young people (Cole and Visser, 1998; Cole et al, 1998; LloydSmith and Davies, 1995).

The aims of individual schools often tend to focus on the third set of standards, that is the *Meeting of Individual Needs*, of young people and therefore may be in conflict with broader national aims or the overall aims of their councils which may reflect a focus on inclusion. In this

context the aims for alternative provision may be rather confused as the provision is seen as a necessary but undesirable reflection of the difficulties of an inclusion policy. Many of these young women did not feel they had participated very fully in professional discussions of their needs.

Education and young motherhood

As argued earlier there is little current discussion of effectiveness and even less about gender and outcomes. Yet there is at the same time a popular moral concern about lone and teenage mothers, whose apparently irresponsible behaviour creates welfare dependency for themselves and delinquency in their children (Field, 1996; MacDonald, 1997). We have argued elsewhere that the findings of this small study do not fit with the notion of a fixed and feckless underclass, nor with a picture of hapless victims of structural inequality unable to make choices about their lives (Lloyd and O'Regan, submitted). The young women discussed here have made choices, some to have babies. They wish to live lives independent of interfering professionals but also face adversities and could benefit from informal support.

The discussion about effective outcomes for girls and young women who have been in care or special provision, tends to imply that early motherhood should inevitably be seen as failure. For some of the young women in this study it had created a satisfying life which, although perhaps not planned, represented a positive experience. The literature does not apply the same standards to young men and young women - fathering and/or supporting their children are rarely considered as relevant criteria of success or failure to be discussed for young men.

Conclusion

The young women in the second part of this study were living in disadvantaged areas, they were financially poor, their employment histories had been patchy, many of them were pregnant and had babies. Several were isolated, with few friends and little support. Yet most had positive views of their lives and futures. Sometimes these included aspirations for work, sometimes they focussed on their future with their children. Some of those with babies had a strong wish to create a life for their children free of the abuse which they had suffered themselves. It was not clear that their patterns of work were any different from other young people in their neighbourhoods. Equally their early pregnancies may not be so unusual. The findings do indicate the complexity and difficulties of measuring effectiveness.

Although in some cases the lives of the young women reflected a long pattern of professional intervention, these interventions were in retrospect viewed with mixed feelings by many of the young women. Some saw them as the inevitable consequences of their own actions, especially those young women with a strong history of offending, others were more resentful. They did in many cases emphasise the value of certain kinds of support, from certain individuals, sometimes at particular times of their lives.

We believe that the findings of this study point to the case for a much wider argument over the existence of specialised alternative provision for young people, and in particular for young women. Clearly some of these young women, during their earlier years, had experienced extreme difficulties in their family life and neighbourhood. Equally some of them had created difficulties in their neighbourhood and school. Some kind of professional support or intervention may have been inevitable. It was not always clear, however, that the professional interventions in their lives, while sometimes removing them from what seemed to be the context of the problem, had necessarily equipped them to survive any better than their peers in the adult world. These interventions had created a strong view that, as argued earlier, professionals were valued who treated them as equal human beings, who listened and provided uncritical support even while sometimes criticising their actions. This kind of support was not seen to be often available in the mainstream, although, as for Ann, it could be there.

The study brings us back to broader questions of the aims and purposes of mainstream schooling. If alternative provision provides what is not available in the mainstream, then it reflects the failures of mainstream education to provide an adequate pastoral and learning environment for young women like these. Much discussion of the effectiveness of alternative education for young people with social, emotional or behavioural difficulties fails to acknowledge the complexity and confusion over the standards to be applied. We are arguing for more public discussion of the role of alternative educational provision in relation to the paradox created by public policies of inclusion alongside exclusionary educational practices. This discussion should include the views of young people, young men *and* young women and their families.

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'You Have to Learn to Love Yourself 'Cos No One Else Will.' Young Women with 'Social, Emotional or Behavioural Difficulties' and the Idea of the Underclass

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ABSTRACT *This article discusses some of the findings of a small-scale qualitative study involving young women identified and processed as deviant, that is as having 'social, emotional or behavioural difficulties', in their school years. It also explores some of the ideas currently much discussed in both the press and academic literature about the underclass and lone motherhood, arguing for an understanding that acknowledges the complex interweaving of structure and agency in the lives of disadvantaged young women.*

There is very little research in Britain on gender and deviance in school, despite the considerable variation in the numbers of boys and girls identified as having emotional or behavioural difficulties and in those excluded from school (Crozier & Anstiss, 1995; Riddell, 1996; Lloyd, 1999). In Scotland secondary school age boys are between three and four times as likely to be excluded from school as girls and are likely to be excluded for longer (Cullen *et al.*, 1996). In alternative provision, for what in Scotland is called 'social, emotional or behavioural difficulties' (SEBD), there are more than four times as many boys as girls. The different incidence is clearly related to gendered constructions of deviance and gendered processes of identification, intervention and patterns of provision (Lloyd, 1999).

Equally, although there is a growing literature on lone mothers and despite the centrality of the idea of the lone mother to much of the argument of the political Right on the underclass, most of the literature on youth, the underclass and social exclusion pays little attention to gender. MacDonald's otherwise comprehensive collection of papers on this theme has very few references to young women or to gender issues (MacDonald, 1997a).

The debate over the existence of an underclass which is anti-social, welfare-dependent, anti-work and criminal is well documented. MacDonald and others summarise the

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arguments into four main positions, the moral turpitude argument, the structural poverty position, the need for more research view and lastly, the outright rejection of the idea (Westergaard, 1992; Griffin, 1993; Field, 1996; MacDonald, 1997a). We intend to argue that the findings of this small study provide illuminative support for MacDonald's own argument against the usefulness of the idea of the underclass and for 'a more productive recasting of research on contemporary youth, their transitions and social exclusion' (MacDonald, 1997b, p. 196). The argument draws on data from interviews with young women whose lives include many of the features associated with the idea of the underclass, such as unemployment, early motherhood and histories of professional intervention, and yet do not conform to the simplistic picture, often drawn, of fecklessness and welfare dependency. Our interviews show that, although their lives were affected by poverty and by their histories of difficult experiences as children, they had many hopes and aspirations of work, homes and parenthood in common with other young women of their age (Baldwin *et al.*, 1997; Jones, 1997).

Social, Emotional or Behavioural Difficulties

Social, emotional or behavioural difficulties (SEBD) is the official term used in Scotland to denote children and young people considered to require additional help/support in or out of mainstream school because of their behaviour or emotional difficulties (Munn & Lloyd, 1998). Various unsuccessful attempts have been made in Scotland to define this label in individual psychopathological terms. It is clear that its use reflects the subjective perceptions of professional judgement and decision-making and that a more helpful understanding is in pragmatic terms, which claim no clarity over how to compare disruptiveness in different institutions or difficulties in individual pupils.

In Scotland the provision for SEBD differs in its structure from England—there is nothing directly similar to the Pupil Referral Units for excluded pupils, with the associated implication of unworthiness of those excluded as opposed to the worthiness of those identified as having EBD. The term SEBD is used to refer to all pupils receiving special educational support or in special provision, whether excluded, formally Recorded as having SEBD, or as a result of personal or family difficulties or offending in the community. There are two routes into alternative provision, the 'educational' route through assessment of special educational need and the 'social welfare' route through a decision of a Children's Hearing, although the selection of school, especially if this involves a residential or expensive placement, will usually be made by the same multidisciplinary group. Most alternative educational provision will have children placed by both routes. The two systems offer different rights and procedures to children and families, which can be confusing. Often educational professionals too are unclear about their operation (Lloyd & Padfield, 1996). There is probably a greater professional consensus in Scotland over a generally welfare, needs-based and multidisciplinary approach to the education of children and young people in difficulty as a consequence of the influence of the Children's Hearing System (Hallett *et al.*, 1998).

In our study we accepted that the term SEBD had been applied to the young women we interviewed but did not assume that it told us anything about them, other than that a professional judgement had been made.

The Research

Twenty young women were interviewed in their last year of compulsory schooling. They

TABLE I.

First interview	(20 young women)
Current school	
at mainstream secondary	2
excluded from school/left early/didn't go	5
residential school	8
day alternative educational placement	5
Experience of mainstream schools	
truanted	10
truanted & disruptive	4
excluded	4
attended & difficulties	1
don't know	1
Living (at time of 1st interview)	
residential school &/or care	9
home (mother)	5
home (both parents)	3
own flat (after leaving care)	3
Baby	
while school age	2

were white, Scottish and had been identified as 'having' SEBD. (There are hardly any black girls identified with SEBD in Scotland, although ethnicity can be a factor in exclusion from school, for example, in relation to gypsy travellers [Lloyd *et al.*, 1999.]) Most of the young women had been involved extensively with the social work and juvenile justice systems, including secure placements. They were identified by their school or centre: three residential schools, two secondary schools and three day alternative educational establishments (two youth strategy centres and one leavers' group in a special school) (see Table I). Two of the residential schools were for girls, the others all mixed.

The aims of the research were to explore issues involving the ideas of effectiveness and outcomes of alternative educational provision for young women identified with SEBD and to provide space for the rarely heard voices of such young women. In the first interview they were asked about their experiences of schooling in different settings, about their understanding of the professional judgements and processes that had led to their different placements and about their aspirations for the future and their lives after they left school. The young women agreed to be interviewed again after 2 years. We were able to trace 15, of whom we interviewed 14 and the parents of the fifteenth. There were great difficulties in finding them. They were spread out across the central belt of Scotland. Many had moved, and when we did find their telephone numbers their telephones were cut off. Some of those we failed to find seemed lost to the formal agencies of the state, for example, the social work department and the careers service (Wilkinson, 1995).

In the second interview they were asked to look back at their schooling and the professional support they had received and to tell us about their current lives, in the context of their earlier aspirations. Clearly this is a very small-scale project and generalisation inappropriate. However, we hope to show that we have used the findings to explore some important ideas and to point to the need for more such research on a wider scale.

TABLE II.

Second Interviews	(15 young women)
Pregnancy/baby	
baby (miscarriages)	8
Of above 9	
living with baby's father	2
still relationship baby's father	1
occasional contact baby's father	1
no contact baby's father	3
no contact baby/baby's father	1
Marriage	
no plans/opposed	14
engaged but no plans to marry	1
Living (2nd interview)*	
at mothers' home (father)	3 (1)
own tenancy	5
own tenancy with boyfriend	1
boyfriend's flat	1
homeless/with friends	3
secure accommodation	1
(Un)employment	
never worked	4
some work/training	9
currently working/supported training	2

Brief Summary of Findings

The findings could be used, superficially, to support the arguments for the existence of an underclass. They offer a picture of teenage lone parenthood, unemployment and welfare support. However, as we will show, they can also be seen to present a more complex picture. Table I gives some information about their educational position at the time of their first interview, some idea of their schooling history and where they lived at that time. It also shows that two of the young women had babies while still under school leaving age. Several had been to many schools (the record was 16), some had been in multiple care situations and in and out of families, children's homes and residential schools.

Table II indicates their circumstances at the time of the later interviews, including where they were living at that time. However, from the interviews, it was clear that many of the young women lived more complex lives than the table suggests, often in households with a varying membership of their extended family, their partners, children and friends. Even the young women who had their own tenancies did not always live there alone all the time, some returning home sometimes, or having other people living in their flat.

In the argument that follows we discuss the ideas central to the notion of the underclass, in relation to these findings and to the comments of the young women. In particular we look at the aspects of:

- work and unemployment;
- teenage motherhood;

- single motherhood and marriage; and
- professional intervention and support.

Issues of effectiveness and outcomes of alternative placement are discussed elsewhere (Lloyd & O'Regan, 1999)

Work and Unemployment

Murray, among others, argues that for members of his identified underclass unemployment is the norm and work is no longer seen as a source of self-respect. His discussion of this concern includes young women only indirectly inasmuch as their lone motherhood and welfare dependency is one of the reasons why men apparently feel no need to work (Murray, 1996; Field, 1996). Almost all of the young women in this study had clear and well worked out expectations of work. Of the four who had never worked, three had already been pregnant or had a baby by the time they left school. Eleven had worked for some time, although rarely at the job they had wished for in their first interview (see Table III).

TABLE III (20 young women).

Hopes for work					
Work with children	6	Car mechanic	3	Catering	2
Painter/decorator	1	Nurse	1	Hairdresser	1
Medical receptionist	1	Actress	1	Art/design	2
Get a job	2				

There were considerable discontinuities between their hopes and expectations and the realities of the kind of work they found. Only two young women had found work in their chosen area but they had not liked it. Rona had had clear plans to be a hairdresser:

... and I didn't like it. At first when you're on work experience it was good, but once you're actually working and you're getting paid for it and you're getting told, do this do that, getting told to do about three different things at once—wash hair, clean up hair, do this, do that. I ended up saying—no see you later! (Rona, not working, with a baby)

Christine wanted to be a nurse and had worked for nearly a year as an unqualified assistant in a residential home for the elderly:

You used to have to do shifts, early shift, late shift, I was too young to do the night shift. But you had to do six and three quarter hours a shift. You were knackered 'cos you were working nine or ten shifts between your days off. (Christine, unemployed)

Six young women had planned to work with children; some felt that their own difficult experiences meant that they would understand the pressure that some children faced:

When you've been there, you've worn the T-shirt, you know what they're going through. (Gemma, now a trainee caterer on a supported scheme)
I don't think I would find them difficult, I do believe I would enjoy it. Because I was in that many homes and I have friends now who are still working in the homes and I really want to do it. I know when I was there they had two members of staff who had been in care and even the people who didn't know

that they had even been in care, you asked them their favourite member of staff and at least one of their names would come up. (Ann, now a care assistant in a nursing home for old people)

Cath had worked only briefly in a crèche:

I just felt like they were asking me to do everything—it was like I was younger and they were trying to boss me about and that so I didn't like it

She then worked in a canteen in a chicken processing factory but had given it up when she became pregnant.

Three young women wanted to be car mechanics. Susie wanted, and still plans to be, a motor mechanic:

I had a job for a while. I had to give that up because his Dad couldn't look after him [baby] because he had a job. Since then I've just been looking after him. It was in the S Centre, fish and chip shop ... It wasn't hard, it was just I didn't like coming home with greasy hair and I started getting spots because of the grease. (Susie, currently not working, plans to do a course as soon as her baby is toilet trained.)

Some young women with babies were unable to work because of the lack of appropriate childcare. Sometimes they were unwilling to leave their babies with others, an anxiety reinforced by their own experiences of abuse. The option of leaving your baby with a grandparent may not be open to young women who were abused in their families.

I'd like to get a wee job, but at the moment—I couldn't get a job at the moment. I can't leave her with anyone else because I worry about what's going on. Basically there's two people I trust with my bairn, that's me and her father. I don't trust anyone else. There's too many dodgy people about nowadays. (Dianne, not working, with a baby)

Two of the young women were currently caring for and supporting their mothers, who had physical and mental health problems. Rona had asked her boyfriend to give up working as she was lonely by herself with her baby:

... when I'm sitting by myself. Having the bairn, no a car, nae shops ... the shops are miles away. He was [working] till last week because I got fed-up sitting in the house by myself ... I used to sit on my own and when he came in from his work I'd say—do you have to go?

So most of this group had worked and still had expectations of work. Their experience of work had mainly been that work was hard and unpleasant. For some this had not engendered a commitment to work that would sustain them when other things were difficult. Others were more determined to work and to find a satisfying job. In their initial interviews, like the young people in Williamson's Status Zero group (Williamson, 1997), they did not anticipate their patchy experiences of work and unemployment. Williamson argues that the young people in his study had developed a culture of survival to respond to the changing structure of opportunity in post-school transitions (Williamson, 1997). The young women in this study also perhaps reflect the observation of Baldwin and colleagues that:

although the movement from school to work is important, for some groups, their housing careers and family relationships are of equal (and for some paramount) importance. (Baldwin *et al.*, 1997, p. 84)

Teenage Motherhood

The concerns about 'dangerous' idle youth intersect with those on lone parents, making these teenage mothers doubly dangerous to society, both because of their own apparent lack of morality and welfare dependency and because of their responsibility for producing the male, delinquent youth of the future (Phoenix, 1991, 1996; Roseneil & Mann, 1996; Tett, 1996). As the position and the actions of young mothers are crucial to the arguments about the underclass, they are often discussed in relation to this status, just as young mothers, rather than as complex young women.

The young women in this study did not intend to have early pregnancies; typical observations when they were still at school included:

I'm never going to get married—don't want any wains. (Louise)

I do but no' the noo, maybe when I'm about 30 odd or something. (Maggie)

I wouldn't be able to cope with a wain at my age. (Mary Ann)

I'd rather have a dog! (Moir)

Most indicated that they would like to have a baby at some point, after working and having a social life:

... in about 5 years' time. (Gemma)

None of the young women with babies, or who were pregnant, indicated that they had become pregnant on purpose. Most acknowledged that it had been accidental, but none regretted the baby. Both of the girls who were already mothers in the first interviews said later that in retrospect they did wish that they had waited. Both had lived for a long time in care.

If I could put the time back I would—but have the same baba—but later on.

I don't really regret it. (Susie)

Susie also said in both interviews that having the baby had stopped her from getting into trouble; she was previously offending regularly, stealing cars:

I'd have been in the jail by now.

She lived in her own flat and rarely went out:

I sit and play with him, sing songs, tell him stories. His dad comes down and helps but he doesn't stay here. He's trying to find a job at the moment. He got the sack when I went into labour and he came with me.

She was determined to bring her child up differently from her own family.

A lot more love—I couldn't do—I blame a lot of it on my Mum, 'cos she did things in front of me that I feel she shouldn't have. She swore in front of me, she hit me in front of other folk, and things like that and it just made me more difficult ... I do believe in disciplining a child but not like my Mum would do it. I ran away for an hour and she battered me with a cricket bat.

Lesley had two children by the second interview, and was no longer living with their father. She had a history of care, residential schools and secure accommodation.

I was sexually assaulted when I was 12 and I just started drinking and taking drugs, running away from home and stuff so I got put in secure ... I was in a children's home for 3 months when I was 12 and I left there when I was 13

and went to foster parents and then to a family and then to another children's home.

She had met the baby's father and become pregnant while in a residential school. He had also lived most of his life in care. She was now going to the local community school, which had a support unit for young mothers and she had clear ambitions to do her Highers (examinations) and then a design course:

Get a job and maybe a bought house ... I want a business design company eventually. I'll have to do business management and stuff as well.

Lesley seemed thin and underfed, her clothes were well worn but her children looked well fed, well dressed and had lots of toys. She rarely saw the children's father. She had no family locally, hardly any friends and never went out because she was too tired, but she was proud of her children and determined to make a good life for them. Neither of these young women could be represented as the feckless young mothers of Murray's underclass (Murray, 1996).

Several of the young women with babies did seem somewhat isolated, and without much support. Dianne had been depressed:

I was on the sick for depression and everything. I'm still on the sick for depression ... They gave me anti-depressants but I dinnae like anti-depressants, they're addictive. They keep saying they're not addictive but they are addictive. I ken many people that are addicted to them.

Dianne got support and social relationships from her boyfriend's family.

I never go up to my Mum's now. It's pretty complicated ... it's one of these complicated situations.

While some of the young women with babies had little contact with their mothers, for two others, who had themselves also been in care or residential school, it may have given them a way back into their families. Laura was living with her mother, who was very pleased that Laura was pregnant.

She's been buying everything, she's all excited. But I never thought this would happen.

Laura was interviewed in her room, which was a typical teenage bedroom, walls covered with posters, where the white lace cot seemed incongruous. She showed the picture of the baby's first scan. She had no contact with the baby's father, who had wanted her to get an abortion. Laura, while like the others accidentally pregnant, had also made a choice to proceed with her pregnancy.

It would be presumptuous on the basis of only two interviews with each young woman to speculate on the complex individual motivation involved in these decisions. However, it was apparent that for some of them, who had had difficult lives, they had found love, affection and warmth in their relationships with their babies. Some of them also found things difficult, some lived in relative social isolation and some never went out or had a good time with peers.

Single Motherhood and Marriage

None of the young women was married—it simply did not seem to be a relevant option.

Marriage was described as an expensive ceremony, unrelated to the setting up of family. Two girls talked about the possibility of marriage in the future, but most dismissed it.

My hopes ... well to say settled down ... not really ... I don't want to get married because if I end up like my Mum and Dad well forget it. (Moirra)

At the time of their first interview only three young women were living with both parents. Soon after one was taken into care, and of the 15 found later only Moira was then living with both parents, although tragically her mother was shortly afterwards murdered by her father. Most had experience of complex family circumstances, family rows, abuse. Some now had no contact with family; some had re-established contact having been living away from home earlier.

[My dad] ... he's dead. He's dead and all. [Laughs] I'm glad he's dead ... it's not a very nice thing to say but ... I've got a lot of hatred for him. (Gemma)

Don't get me wrong ... I love my Mum but I just can't stay with her ... Like she's not well. She's got manic depression ... she takes about 17 pills every day, tranquillisers, anti-depressants, you name it she takes it. She's just completely changed. When she wasn't well I looked after her, but she got better for a while but now she's that crabbit and nothing I can do is ever right. (Christine)

It would perhaps have been surprising if they had strong expectations of marriage and the family.

Professional Intervention and Support

Most of these young women had experience of intervention in their lives by a range of professionals. By the second interview some wanted to be free of what they saw as professional interference, and others still wished for support although not intervention. In retrospect, some were positive about support they had received, others critical. Ann, who had a history of multiple abuse and of being in care, identified a learning support teacher in her school as central to her avoidance of exclusion from school:

So I turned up and at first I was sitting there going I cannae do it, I cannae do it, but Sophia, she was fabulous, she gave me a great pushing and I really did work hard in the learning support and I caught up with all my work. Considering that I missed near enough 3, 4 years of school while I was here, there and everywhere, she really did help me quite a bit because I got better grades in my exams than some of the other kids who had been there every day. So it's Sophia I've got to thank, she was really brilliant and there were a number of times when I just couldn't take it and she always gave me another chance ... I still keep in touch with Sophia and I miss her, sometimes I sit and think I wish I was at school because Sophia would have the answer, she was really good.

Ann had varied experience of social workers but finally found one about whom she felt positive:

Yes. I still see my social worker occasionally. I don't know if when I was 18 I came off the Social Work Record or not, but she still comes to see me ... like she'll take me out on my birthday and things like that, and if I need any advice I still phone her up. We got on really well, so I still keep in touch with her but I'm not actually sure if I'm on record or if she just does it to be helpful.

[Interviewer—It's good that it was a positive experience.] Well the latter one was!

At the second interview Gemma was homeless but working in a supported training situation. Gemma had been excluded from school and described herself as having a temper. She had been in care and had a lot of difficulties, but saw her life as improving:

A bit better, calmed down on the self harming, fair enough I still do it, but it's no as often as I used to do it ... once in a blue moon. And I was buzzing for a while there ... got addicted to gas. I came off that slowly. I'm still in the process of coming off that ... it's just like all that stuff to cope with.

She still lost her temper but found that the staff in the training scheme were tolerant and gave her support. Dianne and Lesley were critical of social workers:

I dinnae go to social workers ... I don't like them. I had enough of them when they had to be at my meetings and everything. It was like you'd sit there and they were supposed to be there to help you, and be there for you, but they were sitting there putting me down. Well Sheila from Moray [alternative educational provision] was on my side but it got to the stage when they were all sitting there talking and I was just sitting there like that—'talk about me as if I'm no here', and they've all turned round and went 'Oh sorry'. I was like that—Cheers. [Laughs] (Dianne)

They were all right but they didn't really understand what a young person was going through. It was just a job to them. (Lesley)

Lesley now took one of her sons to a social work nursery and found the less interventionist approach there more helpful:

I can go to her if I want and she doesn't come pestering me.

Most of the young women identified positive support as informal, tolerant and friendly, more equal than before. (For a more detailed discussion of their experiences of school and professional support see Lloyd & O'Regan, 1999.)

Discussion

The literature on young mothers tends either to condemn them, construct them as problems or to suggest they are no different from other mothers (Hudson & Ineichen, 1991; Dennis & Erdos, 1993; Griffin, 1993; Morgan, 1995; Murray, 1996; Phoenix, 1996). Phoenix argued that the reported adverse consequences of teenage motherhood may not be as devastating as sometimes stated. She warns of the risks of individualising their problems and contributing to the popular blame attached to their situation. She argues that, 'Although teenage women who become mothers are often believed to constitute a social problem, it may be more accurate to view them as a group of mothers with problems—often not of their own making—who are struggling against the odds. Most fare well' (Phoenix, 1991, p. 253). Data from the National Child Development Study (NCDS) does suggest that teenage motherhood is associated with poverty, low educational attainment and emotional difficulties while growing up (Kiernan, 1995). Of course, this does not necessarily suggest that the young women here should not do well. However, when Phoenix argues that most fare well, we might ask whether some of those who do not are those with histories of care and abuse. The young women in this study had varied experiences of family life, which for some included rejection, abuse and even

murder. They did not wish to see this repeated for their children, which raises issues of how they can be supported in achieving their aim.

Murray's argument that 'sex is fun and that babies endearing' (Murray, 1996, p. 45) and that young women are financially rewarded by the state for having babies is far too simple an account of this process. The young women in this study were not living in affluence, nor did their current dependence on benefit prevent them from having aspirations which would be common in Scottish society (Baldwin *et al.*, 1997; Jones, 1997).

No I just want a nice job, nice wee house and just to be happy. I don't want to be rich, as long as I've got some money to keep myself and things like that I'd be fine ... and hundreds of dogs ... I love dogs. (Moir)

Get a job and maybe a bought house. (Lesley)

Nor could they be viewed simply as victims of their structural position—they had made choices. Certainly in their childhood they had important choices made for them by their families and by professional agencies. They had also made choices for themselves which influenced the professional decision-making, for example, not to go to school. They made mistakes like everyone else (Lister, 1996). Several of the young women regretted their missed educational opportunities. Some had difficult and distressing experiences in their families and also as a consequence of the intervention of the state. But they had also had valued experiences and important relationships. They had real and complex lives.

If we reject the views of the young women either as simply victims of structural inequalities or as feckless creators of their own irresponsible circumstances, then we need to acknowledge the strengths of some aspects of their lives but also recognise the difficulties they faced. Some were lonely or depressed for some of the time. Two were living with friends while they waited to be housed. Some were housed in areas where no one else would want to live. Ann, for example, living in a street with many boarded-up houses:

I don't like living here. I don't like it at all, but it's a house ... It's just horrible—the whole place. It's just really horrible.

Moir lived with her parents, some of her siblings and their children which she said made her stressed;

And I don't sleep at all at night—I sleep in the morning because ... I don't know what it is ... I just cannae get to sleep at night. I'll go to sleep about six and get up about nine.

Rona, who felt isolated and had asked her boyfriend to give up working, found it difficult to organise herself to do things, like take the baby to the health visitor.

Aye ... I'm meant to be going up to see her today. I can't be bothered getting dressed. It's one of thae days.

Christine was living with her mother, who had mental health problems, and was desperate to get away from home but had no immediate prospect of being housed.

I don't know ... get anything ... I don't care where it is ... I don't care what it is.

Mary Ann had left her residential school and gone home but found it too difficult to cope. She was clear that the offences she had committed then were a reflection of this and was relieved to have been placed in secure accommodation where she said she felt safe and supported.

What it was, I left Nevis [residential school] and I stayed with my mam for a couple of weeks, and em, I ended up in Dover hostel and frae there on the polis was giving me hassle, so I decided to kindae steal a motor, smash the windaes, smash the tyres, set it on fire—ended up in the secure unit.

Mandy was staying with her mother temporarily while she was being rehoused. Her family had major problems in their neighbourhood.

Just a load of hassle with my brother, well no just my brother, my sister and that ... ken wi' a murder that got happened to a fellae. We were witnesses so we were getting all the backlash of it so we had to move out of this place until it was all calmed down so we came back here ... Quite paranoid still in a whole lot of the streets, ken round here, you still get things shouted at you.

Cath, who had been in care, was pregnant and living with friends while hoping for supported accommodation; she did not work because she felt sick and was bored all the time. One of the other young women had had several miscarriages and had taken an overdose since leaving her residential school.

Conclusion

In a foreword to Murray's essay on the underclass, Green argues that to refrain from judging people is to refrain from respecting them (Green, 1990, reprinted in Institute of Economic Affairs [IEA], 1996, p. 22). On the other hand, writers like Smart are rightly critical of the value judgements of the agencies of the state in their conceptions of good and bad mothering (Smart, 1996). For those who wish to be able to offer something useful to young women there needs to be another approach, which does not judge, which rejects the ideological constructions of 'good' and 'bad' mothering, but is able to acknowledge that some actions by people in and out of families can be open to scrutiny. Those young women in this study who had been abused did not discuss the experience in terms of the social significance of the discourse of abuse in late twentieth-century Western society. They wished they had been protected and wanted to make sure that this did not happen to their children. We are arguing that they are entitled to support in this. They would also perhaps agree with Smart that you need material resources to be a 'good' mother.

If we are to recognise agency and not see such young women as victims, then we can voice an expectation of their responsible actions. We can respect them by creating a climate where, rather than judging the young people themselves, as Green proposes, we can support and encourage them to define their own notions of responsibility (Green, 1990). They should equally voice their expectations of us. MacDonald's contributors show how young people's transitions had become riskier and 'for already disadvantaged youth, more prone to social exclusion' (MacDonald, 1997b, p. 186). Current government thinking fosters a view of the state as increasingly interventionist in families; curfews and compulsory parenting classes are based on a model like that rejected by these young women. Support for young women is increasingly difficult to find from more hard-pressed community organisations and council agencies, such as social work departments, struggling to maintain their statutory obligations and unable to provide support in an informal, rather than interventionist way.

Research like this creates an ethical and theoretical challenge for researchers who wish to recognise difficulties and adversities in some of these girls' lives but who wish to avoid both the stereotyping of the lone parent in the underclass argument and the underplay-

ing of agency and the strengths of individual lives in the structural poverty argument. Our study does acknowledge the complex interplay of different aspects of poverty, where, as Lister points out, poor housing, 'a bleak urban environment, social isolation, exclusion from the world of work and lack of political life compound one another' (Lister, 1996, p. 9). We wished neither to sentimentalise, nor to underplay or avoid evidence of difficulties. We wanted to talk about the individual circumstances of this small number of young women to illuminate some of the complexities of the issue, but not by individualising the problem, which, as Phoenix points out, leads to blame (Phoenix, 1996). We have tried to give some sense of their achievements, their adversities and their views. We are arguing for research which attempts to address what MacDonald calls the complicated interplay of individual biographies with structural forces (MacDonald, 1997b, p. 172) and for the inclusion of gender issues with much more specific reference to the experience and voice of girls and young women.

Care

Do I care what happens to me

Yes I do

Do you care what happens to me

No you don't

Maybe I care about you

Then again maybe I don't

You have to learn to love yourself

'Cos no-one else will

You'll learn the hard way. (Mary Ann, 17, in secure provision)

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From difference to deviance: the exclusion of gypsy-traveller children from school in Scotland

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We explore issues generated by a current research project exploring the views of teachers and children on the conflicts that may be generated by the meeting of the cultural norms of traveller families with the expectations and value assumptions of schools.

Introduction

The research discussed in this paper was developed in response to an awareness that, while efforts were being made to encourage traveller children to attend school, at the same time there was some evidence of disciplinary exclusion, particularly at the secondary stage. The aims of the project are to explore how schools perceive the culture of traveller children and its influence on their behaviour, to investigate whether teachers see the behaviour of traveller pupils as problematic and how they respond if they do.

We acknowledge the ethical and methodological issues involved when the research is carried out by sedentary academics, and have addressed this in two ways: first, through a reflexive awareness of our own position and a conscious attempt to reflect the voices of the subjects of the research, and second, through the bringing into the project of interviewers who are travellers. This is work still in progress, the paper represents our thinking at this stage of the process.

The research project

This project has its origins in a conversation between two colleagues, now in the research team, who had been involved in earlier related pieces of work, the collection of data on school attendance by the Scottish traveller Education Project (STEP) (Jordan 1996) and the government-funded investigation of exclusion from school in Scotland (Cullen *et al.* 1996). It seemed that there were issues generated by the wider research on exclusion, to do with the ability of schools to respond to differences in pupils, which

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might be helpful in exploring the exclusion of traveller pupils from participation in schooling. STEP is a Scottish Office-funded centre that provides consultancy and information on traveller education and has a wide range of contacts with traveller organizations and related groups. Initial soundings with these suggested that there was support for this kind of investigation.

Interviews are being carried out in rural and urban areas of Scotland with mainstream primary and secondary school staff, traveller teachers and other support workers, and with traveller parents and children from both gypsy-traveller and show traveller families. As with any marginalized group, identifying potential traveller interviewees has been a slow and complicated process of negotiation. In particular, where young people or their families have had a difficult or upsetting experience of school, they may not be willing to trust us with their views. Accordingly, we have negotiated through a range of intermediaries. We have carried out some interviews and some have been conducted by others with longer relationships with some traveller groups. Interviews are conducted informally, wherever the interviewee feels comfortable, and are taped and transcribed. Most interviews with gypsy-traveller young people have taken place in their homes, whether housed or living in a trailer. It is intended to complete the data collection by May 1998.

Gypsy-travellers as an ethnic minority?

There has been considerable argument between academics and within gypsy-traveller communities over the issue of gypsy-traveller identity and in particular the use of the term ethnic minority (Fraser 1992). The history of the groups has been written by and largely from the perspective of settled observers (Kenny 1997). Depending on the context, the terms gypsy and traveller can be understood as having sometimes the same or distinctively different meanings. However, there is strong evidence for the recognition of common cultural features among European nomadic groups, described variously as gypsies, travellers and rom or roma (Liegeois 1987). This does not deny the existence of variation in language and history resulting from the interaction of these groupings with the sedentary communities of the countries in which they live. As Kenny argues: 'The sociology of Gypsies and Traveller is also that of the societies in which they are immersed and their history insofar as recorded, one of their treatment by the sedentary...' (Kenny 1997: 9).

This recognition of shared cultural practices and norms allows us to acknowledge the contemporary and historical distinctiveness of these groupings without using arguments dependent on biological and genealogical criteria. Fraser demonstrates that 'to attach prime importance to such criteria quickly leads to absurd demarcations: Gypsy populations like others, have a mixture of ancestral strains' (Fraser 1992: 5). Even in the racist horrors of the Third Reich it was not possible to construct clear genealogical criteria for the identification of gypsies. A travelling existence on the boundaries of settled societies leads to a culture that responds to and

interacts with those it meets and will reflect both historically transmitted and valued features distinctive to the group and also shared and borrowed or transformed characteristics of the mainstream culture (Okely 1983, Reid 1997). We are using the notion of culture, not as fixed and measurable, but as constantly being reconstructed and redefined.

We accept Jenkin's notion of ethnic boundaries as permeable, as existing despite, and because of, interaction across them (Jenkin 1994). Self-ascribed and other-ascribed ethnicity are equally interactive (Okely 1983). Our social identity will include not only a greater or lesser awareness of membership of an ethnic group, majority or minority, but also a range of other aspects including, for example, age, gender, class, nationality. Different aspects of our identity may be important or asserted at different times. 'To be a traveller one does not need to assert it continually' (Husband 1989). Kendall (1997) points out that the traveller community is not a homogeneous 'whole' and that their exclusion from the majority society may lead to 'stronger' members excluding 'weaker' members, for example men excluding women, English travellers excluding Irish travellers. Difference is fundamental to our conceptions of identity, for travellers as for others (Braid 1997).

The Council of Europe has identified two main groupings of travellers, gypsies-travellers and occupational travellers. A third group is also often identified, that of the more recent 'new' travellers. This paper focuses particularly on the issues identified from the research to do with gypsy-traveller pupils. The project however did include a group of occupational travellers, show (fairground) travellers and relevant comparisons will be made although these are not discussed in this paper.

Scottish gypsy-travellers

In Scotland, tinker, tinkler and gypsy have been used to describe travellers. Most of the literature (Fraser 1992, Jordan 1996) accepts that there were large travelling groups in Scotland prior to the documented arrival in Europe of groups described as Egyptians or gypsies and that there was subsequent interaction and interrelationships between these groups and with subsequent waves of visiting travellers. The history of travellers in Scotland, as in other countries, reflects their relationship with the settled population and there is historical evidence of changes in response to periods of particular persecution, for example as in other parts of Europe in the seventeenth century the adoption by many gypsies of names commonly in use in Scotland.

Reid, a Scottish traveller, states that: 'Arguments about the nature and characteristics of the 'true' Gypsy/Traveller are tiresome, outdated and misdirected.... Although Gypsies/Travellers have a strong identity that we defend fiercely, we are just as confused as others as to our origins.... Regardless of theories of origin Gypsies/Travellers remain a distinct ethnic group and are aware of the distinctive nature of the group' (Reid 1997). The distinctive features of Scottish gypsy-traveller culture include features common to gypsy-traveller groups across Europe, including, for example,

pollution taboos, notions of descent and a traditional hostility to wage labour and preference for self employment (Okely 1983). Fundamental is perhaps what Kenny (1997) calls the 'nomadic mindset', regardless of whether currently travelling. Cant, the language historically used by Scottish gypsy-travellers, reflects their complex history with many shared characteristics with other traveller languages like Irish Shelta but also with significant words from Romani as well as from Scots and Gaelic. This may now be a source of a vocabulary used in private, along with Scottish English.

An official report in 1993 estimated the number of gypsy-travellers in Scotland as around 3000, living most of the year in caravans tents or huts on camping sites of different kinds (Gentleman 1992). These figures are much contested and are likely a considerable underestimate given the historic resistance to official processes. A European report (Liegeois 1987) suggests that there are around 5000 nomadic gypsy-travellers and 12 000 housed. Nomadism is seen as a core feature of the gypsy-traveller ethnic identity even for those who no longer travel (Liegeois 1994) so our study included those who are partially or wholly settled.

Participation in formal education is still low, one survey in 1995/96 suggesting that 41% of primary age and 20% of secondary school-age traveller children attended school regularly (SCF 1996).

The Education Act (Scotland) of 1937 provided a dispensation, still in operation today, that recognized the seasonal nature of much work and reduced the obligation for attendance at school for traveller children to 200 attendances between October and April (i.e. 100, which represents half the attendance expected of the sedentary population).

Exclusion

We have already noted that our research began as a response to evidence of the disciplinary exclusion of gypsy-travellers from school. It is well documented, and further reflected in our own research, that disciplinary exclusion, while ostensibly a behavioural issue, is inherently connected to a broader social-exclusion of particular groups of pupils, in relation to class, disadvantage, ethnicity and gender. We want to explore further, through both the literature and our own interview data, this broader notion of exclusion as it relates to gypsy-traveller pupils. This could, of course, be argued for other groups of pupils. In the case of travellers however, we would argue that they are particularly vulnerable to the 'exclusionary processes' outlined below. There would seem to be a specific constellation of issues which intensifies differences in culture and acts to produce gypsy-traveller pupils as 'different' and 'problematic' in the context of school. We want first to examine school as an institution, because, in the authors opinion, we need to 'unpack' school practices (as well as traveller culture) in order to understand the reasons why travellers are both excluded from school and self-exclude.

School and power

What do we mean then, when we talk about notions of wider social-exclusion and of 'exclusionary processes' and practices? How is this manifested, lived, in relation to gypsy-traveller pupils' experience of school? Of course, different schools will have different approaches to a range of educational issues including behaviour, and this is often dependent on the approach taken by head teachers and senior management (Cullen *et al.* 1996). But we would argue that over and above differing approaches to issues of discipline and school ethos, schools have an inherently 'normalizing' function and, in short, this is at the heart of the power which schools exercise as institutions. The 'normalizing' function of school acts to produce and reproduce pupils according to the value systems that constitute dominant social relations. When pupils come into conflict with these values, be it because of issues of discipline, ethnicity or gender, then tension and conflict may result, as we will argue is the case for travellers in their specific model of exclusion. As Furlong notes, 'the experience of race, class and gender can be linked to disaffection through an emergent sense of difference and exclusion' (Furlong 1991: 302).

When we talk about school as 'normalizing and this being at the heart of 'power' we can see this in two interrelating ways. First, the power of one individual over another, in this case, the power of the teacher over the pupil. As others have argued (Furlong 1991, Booth 1996, Cullen *et al.* 1996, Kenny 1997), individual teachers and schools have significant power over their pupils, and this power allows for the possibility of disciplinary exclusion from school. However, we also have to understand power in a different way if we are to know its effects in relation to the exclusionary processes to which Booth (1996) refers. To perceive the essence of power as repressive is to miss its very nature. Foucault argues that if power were only repressive then it begs the question of how individuals could be made always to obey it (Foucault 1980). What makes us accept power and its effects is the very fact that it does not bear down upon us, always telling us how to act—as Foucault argues it does not say 'no'. Rather, power is productive, 'it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledges, produces discourse' (Foucault 1980). Power then, in this sense, is not located only in the state, at the macro level of society. Foucault considered this power to be 'inert' (Foucault 1990). Real power is found in the practices and relationships of everyday life in which knowledges and discourses are reproduced—the 'micro-powers' at work in society, the many powers with their concomitant struggles and resistances that make 'big' (state) power possible and upon which it is contingent. Power then is not just 'up there', rather 'power relations are rooted in the system of social networks' (Foucault 1982).

The everyday practices of teachers in the classroom act to reproduce expected behaviour, the form it takes, the way pupils are supposed to conduct themselves, even perhaps how they should sit. Thus, we witness power rooted in the system of social networks, producing the normalized behaviour expected of all of us. From an educational perspective (and from an early age) children learn that they need to attain certain educational goals

to move on to the next stage. The force of these powers then, is their ability to produce and reproduce children within certain value systems, the values of the sedentary, dominant classes:

Through our power, we attempt to get children to accept certain values, to aspire to certain futures for themselves, and to accept and understand their own strengths and limitation. Educational structures—the power of education—is used not just to impose certain sorts of behaviour, but to construct young people in particular ways. We do not use our power simply to force children to act in these ways. Rather we insist that they come to see themselves and organise their lives in these ways. (Furlong 1991: 298)

The essence of this second type of power is that we endeavour to 'produce' children who learn to choose to act in these ways, and this is continually reinforced through the everyday practices of the classroom. To summarize, when we explain schools as normalizing it is because of the powers they have *over* pupils (in a disciplinary sense) but also the power they exercise in a *productive* sense, to produce pupils in particular ways.

The exclusionary processes of school

We have found Booth's (1996) model of exclusion useful in understanding the factors that contribute to both disciplinary exclusion and a wider social/cultural exclusion from mainstream school life. Booth argues that disciplinary exclusion is not a single event, the point at which the relationship between school and pupil breaks down. We need to look at what he calls the 'devaluations' of certain groups of pupils which precede that event and which contribute to 'exclusionary processes', that is the broader notion of exclusion discussed above. Booth is arguing that the 'devaluations' of certain groups of pupils contribute to disciplinary exclusion, and to a broader sense of exclusion from mainstream school culture even where disciplinary exclusion does not occur.

We would argue that the exclusionary processes to which Booth refers, and which very often lead to instances of disciplinary exclusion, have at their heart the 'productive powers' outlined above, which act to reproduce educational values and societal values to constitute, reproduce and sustain the dominant view of the 'good society'. The essence of this power, in the context of this paper, is in its ability not only to produce pupils in this way, but also to exclude those who resist being 'produced' in this particular form. While gypsy-travellers are economically dependent on the sedentary economy (Okely 1983, Kenny 1997) they have, to a greater or lesser degree, managed to resist assimilation into sedentary society. This resistance extends to educational policies and practices. Even though some gypsy-traveller pupils do attend school, they may refuse to be 'assimilated' completely in it. Rather, they take what they require from it to survive economically, but within their own culture and lifestyle:

Resistance is constitutive of the cultural operations of this open, dependent society, drawing in and transforming whatever it needs to suit its own purposes which are often oppositional to those of the dominant society. (Kenny 1997)

So, in what 'broad' ways are Scottish gypsy-travellers excluded from school (as opposed to strictly disciplinary exclusion)? And what can we point to in both the literature and our interview data that might indicate the 'exclusionary processes' which contribute to both exclusion from mainstream school culture and disciplinary exclusion? It is important to note that in looking at 'exclusionary processes' we are not seeking to attribute blame, but rather to open up these processes for scrutiny, so that we can attend to them and look at ways of making school an experience which is valued by gypsy-traveller pupils.

Exclusionary processes: differences in behaviour

It was noted by some of our interviewees that gypsy-traveller pupils' behaviour could be disruptive to the rest of the class and that this could cause problems:

Once the boys reached the age of 12, 13, they didn't want to come to school, they were disruptive they couldn't be put in a class with other children, they just completely disrupted the place and we found that a tremendous problem. (Principal teacher, Guidance, secondary school)

There was recognition that this was not always an attempt by these pupils to be purposefully disruptive, but was perceived by this teacher as 'normal' behaviour for gypsy-travellers:

The boys had no real knowledge of how to behave in a large group ... sorry, how we expect them to behave, and would sit and talk, shout out, refuse to do any work, walk around the place. ... I feel that in the case of the traveller boys, they were just behaving normally to them. (Principal teacher, Guidance, secondary school)

Obviously, some teachers would be better able to interact with and accommodate this behaviour than others. This was acknowledged by some interviewees about *other* teachers who were keen to have their class in a routine, and were perhaps less flexible than other colleagues. The teacher in the above quote had taken time to reflect on these gypsy-travellers' behaviour and felt that the reason for it was less to do with intentional misbehaviour, rather it was related to not knowing how to behave 'properly' in accordance with sedentary perceptions. It was also noted by some teachers that gypsy-traveller pupils had a more adult way of speaking with adults than their sedentary peers, and that this may be interpreted by some teachers as 'cheeky' or behaviourally inappropriate. This lack of reflection on the part of some teachers in trying to understand behavioural issues is also noted by Cullen *et al.*'s (1996) research on disciplinary exclusion. They found that teachers were not always able to reflect on the underlying reasons for a pupil's behaviour and this could contribute to the use of disciplinary exclusion. 'It was clear that the use of exclusion was encouraged by an unwillingness to consider why a pupil misbehaved in school' (Cullen *et al.* 1996: 14).

The 'difference' leading to 'deviance' outlined in the title can clearly be mapped in relation to the behaviour of gypsy-traveller pupils. Perceptions

of 'difficult' behaviour are embedded in exclusionary processes, and 'difference' is at the heart of perceptions about 'difficult' behaviour and the inability by many schools to accommodate the diversity of pupils' cultures. It should also be noted that many gypsy-traveller pupils do not wish to be accommodated (particularly at the secondary level) and schools very often do not have the time or resources to understand and investigate further how they can make school more relevant and accessible to this group.

Related to issues of behaviour (and another strand which indicates the power of normalizing practices in the classroom) is the difference for gypsy-travellers between physically operating in a culture which spends much of the day outside and the 'insideness' of mainstream education. This was commented on by a group of traveller support teachers who had observed gypsy-traveller pupils in P1 starting school in October, when the rest of the class had begun in August. One interviewee noted that to those children beginning later in the year it may have appeared that there was no obvious structure in the class. However, generally speaking, each child knew what they were supposed to be doing, how they were supposed to operate:

I think some classroom environments ... each individual child kind of knows what they're meant to be doing, but to an outsider it could appear to be adrift, for a boy who's not been used to the way that that class works. And it's when you finish that job it can be seen that, oh well, you just wander round and you do a bit of what you fancy. (traveller support teacher)

I think the thing at the P1 level with the behaviour is that it's just such a culture shock for the child. ... (traveller support teacher)

Schools' ability to function is contingent on pupils learning how to operate in class, and importantly, knowing when they transgress behavioural boundaries. As Booth (1995) has argued, 'The way schools construe authority sets the context for understanding disobedience and departures from norms of behaviour'. This both suggests not only the power that teachers have over pupils (the reference to 'disobedience'), but also the 'productive power' that produces pupils to adhere to norms of behaviour, for example, where pupils learn to do automatically certain things without being asked or told (if they do not, they may be perceived as having special needs, social/emotional behavioural difficulties or behavioural problems). When children come into class and do not operate in this way it is often perceived as disruptive to the class. This can happen whether behaviour is purposefully disruptive (attempts to transgress behavioural boundaries) or inadvertently disruptive, for example when, gypsy-travellers either misread the cultural signals of mainstream education, or do not 'see' them (of course, they may *choose* like other children to transgress these boundaries). Once again, we would argue that where teachers do not reflect on the behaviour of traveller pupils and the reasons underlying it, this becomes a 'devaluation' of gypsy-traveller pupils and contributes to exclusionary processes which in some cases leads to disciplinary exclusion.

Further exclusionary processes

The 'normal' education desired and expected by the majority of the sedentary population does not necessarily match what is considered desirable in Scottish and other gypsy-traveller communities. Ability and attainment have a different focus. They may perceive the family as the main site in which their children are educated; education takes place through 'immersion in the family, personal experience, encouragement of initiative and exploration' (Lee and Warren 1991: 317).

Travelling people learn their own different things but when you're at school you learn different things altogether ... when I grow up I just want to be here wi' my mither and that, and my brothers. (Young woman, gypsy-traveller)

The values of mainstream education in terms of what the majority of the sedentary population perceive education to 'be' can clash quite significantly with gypsy-traveller education. Most gypsy-traveller parents want their children to attend primary school in order to learn reading and writing (Jordan 1995, SCF 1996). For many, this is considered sufficient. In short, it provides adequate tools to engage with the sedentary population for economic purposes. The transition to secondary school would appear somewhat more problematic. This was in evidence in our research; by the time pupils reached the second and third years of secondary school there were high levels of non-attendance, particularly for boys (this is the age at which boys tend to begin working for the family business). Gender is an important dimension in our understanding of the school experiences of Scottish gypsy-traveller children and the perceptions of their teachers. (This will be discussed in more detail in a forthcoming paper.) One underlying factor, according to the literature and suggested by our research, why these pupils stay away from school is that gypsy-travellers may not make the same link between academic success and status as the sedentary population (Lee and Warren 1991, Liegeois 1994, Kenny 1997).

Status is ascribed based on age, gender and place in gypsy-traveller cultures; there would appear to be little connection between academic success and status. In stark contrast, mainstream education places much emphasis on academic attainment and success (and this would be at the heart of many pupils feelings of exclusion from school, not only gypsy-travellers). Booth (1996) has argued that the most pervasive exclusionary processes in school are the 'devaluations of pupils according to their relative attainment.'

Not only is the family the place in which education takes place, mainstream schooling is often perceived as dangerous and in opposition to Gypsy-Traveller lifestyle: School, as an external element, and one which affects children's upbringing, is disturbing by nature, since it upsets the internal education process. Those parents who experienced it themselves generally have negative memories of it, and hesitate to entrust their children to it. (Liegeois, 1994)

We are not like you, we do not let our girls go to discos, parties and have boyfriends. (mother, gypsy-traveller, talking to settled interviewer)

I remember Mr M [gypsy-traveller parent] saying 'The school brutalises children', that was a view, an interesting view, considering his children brutalised a lot of other children. (special education teacher, secondary school)

Our interviews with children and young people and their parents suggest a sustained experience of name-calling and harassment which many felt was not addressed by the schools. Sometimes a sympathetic teacher would support them but often they felt that the scale of bullying was underestimated by the school.

My two wee cousins, C... and J..., they are getting bullied by a load of boys just at the moment and they're feared to go to school. Their guidance teacher, every time they tell their guidance teacher, they don't do anything about it! (young woman, gypsy-traveller)

This was a feature of the memories of some parents. One family who had chosen to educate their children themselves said that this was the result of name-calling and because of the parents' own distressing experiences of school. The father had to eat his school dinner only with cutlery with special identifying rubber bands. One Guidance teacher when asked about the relationships between the children from the gypsy-traveller site and the other pupils replied:

Poor. Two reasons: firstly they kept themselves to themselves, they don't naturally mix—this is girls and boys; secondly because of the background they come from, they do at times come up smelling or dirty etc, they get called tinko or blacko.... To this they would very rarely react violently they would come and complain and would use this as an excuse for not coming to school for the next three weeks.

Another guidance teacher in a rural school dismisses a gypsy-traveller mother's fears of dishonesty at school and accepts that if children are different they will get picked on.

I think she has the impression—and probably the kid has the impression too—that the travelling people are a close knit, very caring, very honest people—according to her. Here his bag was stolen but again it was one of those bullying things if you like, where his bag gets stolen and gets thrown away.... I think he gets on fine but he is a bit smelly at times, a wee bit scruffy, he has an English accent so he is different and he will be picked on from time to time. Not because he is a traveller but because he's different.

The special education class teacher in the same school talked of two girls who 'had no problems mixing. They were very acceptable, they were nicely dressed, they turned up nice, they didn't make themselves different in any way'. So sometimes school staff implied that the gypsy-traveller pupils had an obligation to minimize the difference and that if they did not then name-calling was an inevitable response.

Conclusion

If gypsy-travellers see mainstream education as largely irrelevant to their lifestyle, their very opposition to it reaffirms their gypsy-traveller identity. While resisting mainstream education and the danger it imposes to their culture, gypsy-travellers reaffirm their identity, but their exclusion is rein-

forced. This exclusion 'connects' and is reproduced by the inability of many schools to recognize and accommodate gypsy-traveller values and lifestyle as has been noted above. We see the 'power' of schools (power as productive of mainstream culture) in their inability as institutions to include diverse populations. This apparent inability to include continually marginalizes many gypsy-traveller pupils, despite the good intentions of many individual schools and teachers, and can foster conflict between pupils and between pupils and their teachers.

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'The Boys and Girls Not Calling Me Names and the Teachers to Believe Me'

Name Calling and the Experiences of Travellers in School

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This paper is about name calling and bullying of Gypsy and Show Travellers in school and the response of schools. The data discussed were gathered as part of a small-scale study of the experiences of Gypsy and Show Travellers in school in Scotland and of the views of school and Traveller support staff. The overall focus of the study was on exclusion and perceptions of deviance. There was a difference in the teachers' views of the two groups of Travellers, with Gypsy Traveller pupils perceived as having, and presenting, more difficulties in school. However both Gypsy and Show Traveller children experienced frequent racist bullying and name calling, often not acknowledged by their school. The paper focuses particularly on this latter aspect of our research, raising issues about the ability of schools to support diversity and suggesting that approaches to bullying often fail to address both broader issues of social relationships in school and also the historical and cultural context of prejudice against Travellers. Copyright © 2001 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Bullying and name calling

Research on bullying has mainly focused on incidents and individuals, concentrating on the psychological characteristics of bully, victim and bystander (Kelly, 1994). The Bullying Index, widely used in British research on bullying, excludes name calling (Aora, 1999) yet other studies in England and Wales identify it as the form of bullying most frequently mentioned by children (Smith, 1999). Children from minority ethnic communities in Scotland said that racist name calling was a major aspect of bullying (Mellor, 1999). Concern with characteristics of bullies and victims '...can sometimes obscure the situational and social influences on bullying behaviour' (Blatchford and Sharp, 1994, p 6). Kelly argues '...harassment is distinguished by the fact that it can be legitimised by reference to an ethos which supports hierarchies of dominance, exclusion and mistreatment...' (Kelly, 1994, p 6). Racist name calling and harassment may permeate everyday relationships in school.

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Troyna and Hatcher argued for eight levels of analysis in exploring racist incidents in school: structural, political/ideological, cultural, institutional, sub-cultural (referring to the sub-culture of the pupils), biographical, contextual and interactional (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992). Much work using the specific concept of bullying has concentrated on the largely psychological dimensions of the last three, limiting the usefulness of this work in understanding the experiences of children and underestimating the impact of name calling. We agree with Kelly that such definitions of bullying allow teachers to dismiss or be unaware of a level of constant painful harassment. Epstein groups Troyna and Hatcher's levels of analysis under the heading of the macro-political context, the micro-politics of schools and classroom cultures and relationships, recognising that the levels of analysis are, in lived experience, intertwined and interact to produce distinctive situations (Epstein, 1993). We argue that understanding and working to eliminate such name calling as that described by Traveller young people requires a contextualising of their experience in the wider position of Travellers in Britain, the culture and relationships of their schools and of the specific histories and contexts of name-calling incidents.

Travellers in Scotland

The term Traveller is often used of various traditionally migrant groupings. We interviewed Gypsy Travellers and occupational (show or fairground) Travellers, who share a nomadic lifestyle and commitment to group identity and to the value of such a lifestyle, even when housed. Show Travellers often present as a specialised business community but share cultural characteristics including a sense of family and community, vocabulary/jargon, work ethic and notions of lineage. The Showman's Guild estimates some 500 members in Scotland, but not all Show Travellers are members of the Guild. Several Show Traveller families interviewed moved frequently. Both groups of Travellers included families who had travelled in England, Scotland and Ireland.

There are 3,000–5,000 nomadic Gypsy Travellers in Scotland and possibly another 12,000 housed (Gentleman, 1992; Liegeois, 1987). Traditional and understandable fear of authority probably result in underestimating numbers regarding themselves as Gypsy Travellers (Braid, 1997; Reid, 1997) and reluctance on the part of some individuals and official organisations to self-define as a legal minority ethnic community (Fraser, 1992; Community for Racial Equality, 1991). Sociologically they are a minority ethnic community with shared cultural practices and norms, many common to other European nomads, Gypsies, Rom or Roma, like pollution taboos, notions of descent/lineage and family and a preference for self employment (Reid, 1997). Their culture, like others, is permeable, constantly redefined and, positioned on the edges of settled society, also responsive to and affected by the mainstream culture, producing features that may be distinctive to particular geographical contexts, like Scotland.

Like settled communities, Travellers' identities include race, gender, class and nationality. We argued earlier that difference underlies conceptions of identity (Lloyd and Norris, 1998). We have not researched Travellers as groups: the focus is relationships in schools. Our concept of ethnicity is of shared culture without implications of biological descent. Fraser demonstrates very clearly that European Gypsy Travellers like the settled societies in which they live have '... a mixture of ancestral strains' (Fraser, 1992, p 5). The English

Home Secretary argued recently for the identification of 'real Gypsies and Romanies.' This would lead to dangerous biological notions of race. 'Attempts to rank groups are racist and neither ethnically valid nor sociologically useful. Gypsies/Travellers comprise a mosaic of groups with a variety of cultural profiles, with shifting internal boundaries of varying force' (Liegeois, 1994, p 61).

The families interviewed all self-defined as either Show or Gypsy Travellers. Some were housed, often in highly disadvantaged housing areas, some lived semi-permanently on a site and others were still mobile. Participants are not representative in any way of their community; simply they were willing to share their experiences. Most Gypsy Traveller families had lived mainly in Scotland. All names are changed.

Travellers in Scotland as in other parts of Europe are subject to increasing state regulation restricting their ability to travel and stop freely. In Scotland despite pressure on Travellers to use official sites there has never been a statutory responsibility of local authorities to provide sites (Save the Children (SCF)/University of Dundee, 1999). Despite some central government encouragement to provide sites SCF calculated that in 1999 17 councils had either no provision or did not achieve declining targets. Substantial numbers of families were still using unauthorised camps, risking prosecution and threats from local people. Forcible moving on made it very difficult for families currently receiving healthcare (SCF/University of Dundee, 1994) Law, policy and practice which problematises Travellers connects with and encourages local hostility and racism.

The research

Anecdotal and research evidence, in England and Scotland, showed that some Traveller children were being excluded from school (OFSTED, 1996). We set out to explore our initial understanding, that Traveller pupils' behaviour was an issue in some schools. If some Traveller pupils behaviour was an issue, how was it described and made sense of by teachers, pupils and parents? What responses were made to such behaviour and what strategies used by schools? Semi-structured interviews were conducted with staff (31), mainly learning support, guidance and school managers in 12 schools; Show or Gypsy Traveller pupils (18) and parents (24) in different parts of Scotland; and Traveller support workers (18), some twice. This was a small qualitative study but our findings illuminate important issues.

A key finding was the difference in staff views on the two groups of Travellers; teachers and managers were much more positive about Show Traveller pupils and much less likely to see them as disruptive. The behaviour of some Gypsy Traveller pupils was often, however, seen as problematic by school staff and several had been excluded from school (Lloyd and others, 1999a). Some teachers contextualised this within an understanding of the culture of Gypsy Travellers, others had little knowledge of Gypsy Travellers' lives or, like the rest of the community, partial, stereotyped or prejudiced views. Equally, lack of knowledge, or indeed a rejection, by Gypsy Traveller pupils of school norms and values sometimes underpinned their actions (Lloyd and Norris, 1998; Lloyd and others, 1999a, 1999b). Despite strong differences in school responses to the two groups of Travellers, they all shared experiences of name calling in school.

Often this was first mentioned in response to questions about trouble in school. Gypsy Traveller parents in particular were sometimes understandably reluctant to discuss discipline but all said their children had experienced discrimination and in particular name calling, both 'hot' and 'cold', or other forms of bullying (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992). The article focuses on this finding. Name calling, universally experienced by the children and young people, was consistently underestimated by many school staff. Young Travellers and their parents felt that schools did not take it seriously.

Name calling

The title of this paper is 11 year old Gypsy Traveller Shirley's suggestion for making school better. She wanted not to be called names and the teachers to believe her. All the young Travellers mentioned name calling and some parents expressed strong concern.

It was the cause of us moving one year this name calling. My wee boy, my oldest son, he was five and we put him to his first school and he wasn't even five, he was four and a half because his birthday was in the February, so he got in before he was five. He was in school two days when he came home and said 'Daddy what's a Gypsy, Daddy, what's a tinkie?'. My husband says 'It means, I'll tell you what it means son, it means we're moving in the morning, because you're not even five years old and you've got the whole of your life to find out what tinkies and gyppos is.' So we moved and that was the end of his schooling for a long time. I think my husband took it worse because there was this tiny boy at four and a half going to school and it had started already ... (Gypsy Traveller mother 5)

Name calling included tinker and tinkie, labels like dirty and smelly, and derogatory comments about living on a site or in a trailer. Bella was the only young person who had finished secondary school. She still felt strongly about her experiences:

... folk would keep calling me tinkies and all that and it's not my fault. You got called tinkies a lot. Mhm, because of the way I dress. It's not my fault the way I dress, it's just the way I am ... I got blamed. I told some of the teachers but the teachers said just ignore them ... All the folk that called us scoot but that wasn't very nice. They called us Gypsies as well, smelly Gypsies. (Bella Gypsy Traveller)

Twins June and Christine enjoyed aspects of primary school and completed an extra year before stopping attending at 12. They talked forcefully about their experiences.

They say we live in a shoe box and all that—they used to say we lived in a shoe box and all that, because we couldn't afford to live in a house that's why we had to live in a trailers ... Then one day there's a video thing in school and we were watching the hunchback of Notre Dame—there's that Esmeralda she's a Gypsy isn't she, and so I got called Esmeralda for about a month solid. (Christine Gypsy Traveller)

The mother of another two girls felt that it was unfair that they should be picked on and called dirty.

They really got a lot of hassle and they shouldn't, 'cause they're just as clean as the rest of them in school. They're just as clean as what everybody else—their hairs and everything—so I don't know what they should be down on them. (Gypsy Traveller mother 4)

June and Christine observed that the kids who called them names were often the poorer kids.

They would call us names and had the cheek because they thought they were all better and that at the end of the day we could afford our dinners, couldn't we, we could pay for our dinners by ourselves. And it was them, you know the kids on the tickets, who were saying you can't afford a house and you can't afford this. I turned round and said 'My dad can afford to keep me and afford to feed me.' ... they used to think they were all better and big because they lived in a council house in a scheme. ... (Christine Gypsy Traveller)

There were also examples of physical bullying. Tracy described girls spitting in her hair and her sister Bella described incidents involving their cousins.

My wee cousins, C and J, are getting bullied by a load of boys just at the moment and they're feared to go to school ... they two boys came up with a load of stick and started to beat the living daylight out of them. (Bella Gypsy Traveller)

Show families recognised that some schools were more understanding or were more likely to respond to bullying and indicated that they had carefully chosen the school.

It depends what—school you go to. Most of the schools I go I like them—a few of the schools I go to are not nice. (Jane Show Traveller)

You'll find that Show men can sort out the good schools from the bad schools a lot quicker than what the authorities could because what happens is, they seem to sense that when they get in there you know, that if their attitude is not right towards the children then they all don't go back. They'll find another school that is keen. (Show Traveller mother 3)

One parent spoke of taking her son to enrol in a new school and being kept by the head teacher.

After sitting waiting for twenty five minutes he finished marking these papers and then spoke to me and said 'What can I do for you?' and I said 'I want to enrol my son in the school'. 'Right what class?' I told him the class and he said 'Right you can go home now'. And I said 'I would like to meet with his class teacher and give him some of the work that he's been doing and explain that I've got a journal and—'No need, just go.' So I said 'No I'd like to meet with the school'—'I'm telling you just to go and I'm the headmaster—just go!' (Show Traveller mother 4)

Show Traveller pupils were quite clear that they mainly liked their relationships with teachers and the curriculum, despite problems of moving. All of the children interviewed were currently attending schools for most of the year. Show Travellers seemed more confident and successful in dealing with schools, acknowledging the value of education and their right to receive it.

'No he really loves the school. Every teacher he has had has been a good one.... The school really cares about the Traveller kids but also respects them as well.' (Mother Show Traveller 13)

However virtually all experienced name calling, particularly in the playground.

There was clearly some feeling between the two communities—Show Traveller children and parents disliked being called Gypsy and sometimes referred to Gypsy Travellers as hawkers.

'I blow up when they call me Gypsy. I warn people because I blow up, shout and bawl at them and tell them to go away and not speak to me ever again.' (Kathy Show Traveller)

One Show Traveller father showed his own prejudice towards Gypsy Travellers when discussing his schooling.

The teachers were just as blind as the pupils, ie they weren't taught the difference between Gypsies, tinkers and Show men. We got classed under the the one thing ie 'You're a Gypsy'. That is one thing that annoyed me and it still annoys me today because kids still come out with the same thing- 'Are you a Gypsy?' I think that in the curriculum they should be taught, ie about Hindus, Pakistanis, Chinese, English, Scottish and it still comes down to they say 'Gypsy'. There's no curriculum to teach them the difference between a Show man who works for a living and pays his rates, rent etc and a Gypsy who just shoots around.' (Show Traveller father 13)

Several parents from both communities felt strongly about name calling and bullying as a result of their own experiences, by teachers as well as pupils.

Everybody had silver bracelets. And I had silver bracelets from there to there because they had been handed down and the smallest one was really tight... and they clanged against the chair and so she asked... and I said it was my bracelets. She said I was not supposed to wear jewellery to school. I said 'But that's not jewellery, that's part of our heritage—everybody gets a silver bracelet every year and they don't take them off.' So she took me to the bathroom and she actually stripped all the skin off my hand—it was red raw when I came home—she took all the bracelets off my hand. (Show Traveller mother 4)

One family of Gypsy Travellers were home educating their children. The father had been made to eat his own school dinner with special cutlery identified with rubber bands! The mother had been made to play in a fenced off part of her primary school playground with other Traveller children. So the name calling and bullying so strongly described by Traveller children and parents, could be seen as continuing the 'quiet erosion' of identity across generations (Gaine, 1995).

Retaliation

For many parents and children there was a sense of resignation—name calling was inevitable. 'It just goes with the turf and the kids get on with it.' (Show Traveller father 6) Mainly the pupils dealt with this themselves through direct physical retaliation or name calling. '... I get picked on quite a lot.' 'Do you?' 'Aye, but I don't get picked on now.' 'You don't get picked on now. Why's that?' 'Cos I give them a black eye.' (Billy Show Traveller)

Retaliation was often assumed to be the only expected response for children from both communities.

See if I came back and said 'Mam somebody's been calling me a name at school' and my Mam knowed that I hadn't called them back, she would absolutely kill me. She'd go 'what's the point of telling a teacher when they won't do nothing about it.' (Christine Gypsy Traveller)

You should learn to stick up for yourself—that's what my Mam says, if someone hits me I've been told to hit back—not go and tell me Mam like a fool. (June Gypsy Traveller)

Retaliation to name calling, by fighting, was clearly one of the important reasons for Gypsy Traveller pupils finding themselves in trouble. One young Gypsy Traveller talked of his

sister's exclusion, saying that she was bullied and responded by fighting. Several Traveller support teachers had been trying to support excluded pupils. 'It was for fighting. One boy was swearing at the teacher but mainly it's been fighting outside school.' (Traveller support teacher, describing the exclusion of some Gypsy Traveller pupils)

Occasionally references were to fighting between Gypsy Traveller pupils. Two girls lived on a site where there had been major fighting between families. Their cousin had been taken into care and had tried, in the girls' view, to 'keep in' with the other young people by encouraging the slagging of Bella and Tracy as Gypsies. In one rural area children were called an upsetting name derived from the name of a well known Traveller convicted of a violent incident in the community.

Two girls who lived in a house had not wanted their teachers to know their background but some settled kids had told them. One Gypsy Traveller mother was surprised to hear her son say that he had tried to keep it a secret.

Non-attendance

Name calling and bullying were among reasons for non-attendance, although several Gypsy Traveller parents also believed that secondary schooling was not necessary or suited to Travellers, particularly for girls. Only three Gypsy Traveller children were currently attending school, two at secondary school and one at primary, although 15 of those interviewed were still under school leaving age. All had some experience of school, several had enjoyed some of their primary schooling, although all had been called names and several also physically bullied. All parents saw the importance of schooling in getting basic literacy and numeracy skills but had more reservations about secondary school, and a fear of the corrupting influence of other kids.

See I've never put her to high school in (name of town) because (name of school) is notorious everywhere for drugs and drink. (Gypsy Traveller mother 5)

Well I wouldn't let go to secondary anyway, but the particular secondary school up here which is (name of school) that was where her pals went and I said 'No, M because those wee lassies all had bairns by the time they were 16 and smoking hash and that's all because of (school) ...' When they go to secondary school they seem to get countrified a lot more. They get in with the country bairns and they learn a lot of things they should not be learning. Where as if they're out with their father, out working you know what they're doing and they're learning what you want them to learn, their own way of life. (Gypsy Traveller mother 7) (Countrified = becoming like the country, ie settled, children whether actually rural or urban. In this case it referred to children on a disadvantaged urban housing estate)

Several parents and young people felt their children were discriminated against and labelled by school staff as well as fellow pupils.

There's no point in telling the teacher

'The teachers don't no' listen to you because you're from the shows. (Billy Show Traveller) 'Did you ever tell the teachers?' 'No because the teachers don't do nothing. No, they can't sort it out.' (Jane Show Traveller)

Billy talks about when he told the teacher.

Once it was in P1 all the older kids kept bullying on me, throwing me on the ground and that. *And what did school do?* Well they go in after the class and make them do a punishment exercise for a week. *And did it work?* Yes. (Billy)

Often teachers were said not to believe or to dismiss complaints about name calling.

Although all the kids call names but when they go to the teacher and the teacher doesn't believe them and says 'Oh no not X, I don't believe that.' But when the other boys tell on him (her son) he gets the row but the others never get the row—this is what I'm getting at. How do you expect to keep them at school, you're not going to let your child getting rowed every day of the week. (Gypsy Traveller mother 4)

The staff of the schools attended by Show Traveller pupils tended not to mention name calling, stating that they had good relationships with other pupils. Some of the staff of the schools attended by the Gypsy Traveller pupils acknowledged but tended to underplay its importance. Being picked on was sometimes seen as 'normal'.

I'm sure there is quite a bit of name calling but they never complain about it. They tend to keep to themselves and are quite capable of standing up for themselves—they don't tend to come to you and say someone's calling me names. They tend to tough it out. (Guidance teacher 4)

What about relationships with other children? Poor. Two reasons: firstly they kept themselves to themselves, they don't naturally mix—this is girls and boys. Secondly because of the background they come from they do at times come up smelling or dirty etc—they just get called tinko or blacko (interruption here). In this part of the country it's tinkie and blacko. To this they would very rarely react violently, they would come and complain and use this as an excuse for not coming to school for the next three weeks. (Guidance teacher 4)

Here his bag was stolen but it was one of those bullying things if you like, where his bag gets stolen and thrown away... I think he gets on fine but he is a wee bit smelly at times, he has an English accent so he will be picked on from time to time. (Principal guidance teacher 2)

Obviously I don't think there is any prejudice or anything like that really exists but kids being kids will pick on anybody who's got a weakness. (Guidance teacher 5)

Is there any name calling perhaps? I haven't heard any. I wouldn't be surprised. (Depute head 1)

There was much stronger awareness on the part of Traveller support staff both of difficulties faced by the children and the lack of response by some schools.

It's also very difficult to get the Traveller people to accept the school's way of dealing with something if it's not perceived to be effective. If somebody calls you names and you do what the school has asked you to do; you report it to the playground supervisor who takes it up with management who effectively deal with the pupils involved and involve their parents and make sure it doesn't happen again. That way they can see that you can make the system work for you but if they say 'So and so called me names' and they say 'Well sticks and stones will break your bones but names will never hurt you', of course they're going to batter him next time. (Traveller support 5)

Parents and pupils from both communities were positive where special support teachers had mediated between home and school (seeing them as more understanding and on their side), and where a school had really responded to name calling

Since she started at that school they've got a good policy because they've got a lot of foreign kids in there so they don't stand for any racism or anything like that. It's quite a good wee school. They involve the parents. ... We've been up to see the teachers and you can go in if you want to see them at any time. They encourage that. (Father Show Traveller 14)

If you had a problem you could talk to Mrs H (Traveller support teacher) about it? Aye you talked to her, she deals with it but the rest of the teachers don't deal with it ... If you don't go (to school) then your mother and father gets in bother. (Tracy Gypsy Traveller)

They have a teacher who comes in once a week ... and they are quite fond of her ... they can't wait until a Tuesday morning to get to school to meet this teacher ... she is a very nice woman and they've took to her real good. (Mother Gypsy Traveller 2)

The wider community and the school

Name calling in school is clearly related to the wider community. Some school staff were aware of a level of prejudice about Gypsy Travellers in the local area. 'It depends, if they are on official sites and out of the way then they are tolerated. There will be a lot of people anti Travelling people.' (Guidance teacher 4) One teacher told of a Gypsy Traveller friendship with a settled child.

...her parents told the wee girl not to come because she was having difficulties with the neighbours, the parent was having difficulties with the neighbours because of Travelling pupils coming across. (Principal teacher learning support)

However staff tended not to comment on prejudice or ethnocentric views in the community and their possible impact on the school, despite the evidence that awareness of 'race' and ethnicity are important in children's social relationships (Phoenix, 1997; Troyna and Hatcher, 1992; Kelly, 1994).

Two young Gypsy Traveller women were interviewed on a site immediately adjacent to the town rubbish dump. Taxi drivers regularly refuse to go there. In another city's disadvantaged and run down housing area some families were housed and others lived on a site in the same neighbourhood. One Gypsy Traveller mother described where she lived as: '... living in a ghetto like we live here, where we are thrown into the middle of big council schemes ...' She also argued that, as a result of name calling, her kids were prejudiced against the 'country' (settled) children.

If anyone's prejudiced it's them against the wee country bairns—I suppose that's through some experience they've had themselves about being called Gypsies and tinkers ... R has a lot of wee settled pals and they still come up for him and he plays with them, by the end of the day we are still 'dirty tinkers' you know. You have a serious argument with them and the first thing that will come out of their mouth is 'dirty Gypsies'. (Gypsy Traveller mother 7)

Fear of the corrupting effect of housing and incorporation into a culture of loose morals was expressed by several mothers living on Gypsy Traveller sites and by some of the young people.

... there's a family of travelling people that I lived beside when I was like her a young lassie. And - they were just normal travelling lassies, they didn't do drugs, they didn't do drink, they never was interested in things like that. Then one day their parents moved into a house and they did all their schooling and went to high school and, the moral of the story is that the girls turned into prostitutes, junkies. The boy's lying in jail doing murder, he's lying in jail for the rest of his life doing murder through drugs and drink and they went to (name of school) ... they just didn't go the way of Travellers ... they tried too hard to be accepted where they were staying. (Gypsy Traveller mother 7)

We are not like you, we do not let our girls go to discos, parties and have boyfriends. (Gypsy Traveller Mother 5)

Your people like—with boys and all the girls and all that—they go out with each other don't they. But we're not like that—well I'm like that OK but—if they asked each other out at school and courting and all this and me Mam and Dad knows, I'd be absolutely split stone open if me Mam and Dad knowed that ... I'd be stone dead. (Christine Gypsy Traveller)

For Gypsy Traveller parents it was especially important that they saw one of the differences of their culture as being about protecting their children from the dangers of settled society. For their children home, school and the community involved a difficult balancing act not much recognised by their schools.

Confusion about difference

Many teachers showed some confusion/tension between their understandings of some actions of pupils as possibly originating in their culture and their desire not to discriminate against their Traveller pupils. Several teachers claimed blindness to difference. 'I never, never thought of him as one of the Travelling people ...' (Depute head 1)

This often resulted in denial of difference, leading to school failure to respond to the particular situation of some Traveller children, where an understanding of their cultural background and experiences could lead to a more empathetic response. One Gypsy Traveller mother recognised that her daughter's former school did not realise that her parents may not be literate.

She used to give her homework, extra homework because she couldn't do the homework because I couldn't help her with the homework. There was nobody who was educated enough to help her do the homework, so she would get extra lines because she couldn't do the homework, so it just kept building up until—there was an atmosphere that was unbelievable. (Gypsy Traveller mother 5)

Sometimes an assertion that 'they are no different' or 'they are never treated differently from anyone else' may suggest a lack of recognition of difference or an implication that successful integration requires anonymous assimilation, passing as 'not different'.

He's integrated no problem, you wouldn't really take him as Travelling people, he's got a slightly different attitude at times, but as I say you wouldn't associate that with Travelling people. (Depute head 1 referring to a different boy from the pupil mentioned earlier)

They were very acceptable, they were nicely dressed they turned up nice, they didn't make themselves different in any way. ... They were actually very clean and tidy ... they didn't make themselves out to be tinker girls. (Special class teacher 3)

The findings raise issues about the ability of schools to respond to cultural diversity, especially when this challenges notions of 'normality' in school attendance and behaviour. When Gypsy Traveller pupils were excluded from school it was for the same reasons as other pupils in Scotland, violence between pupils or general disruptiveness (Cullen and others, 1996). From interviews with Gypsy Traveller parents and children it seems that much of what the school sees as indiscipline in the form of violence may be in response to name calling. Fighting or calling back was the main way of dealing with name calling by the children and young people. Disciplinary exclusion connects here with wider exclusionary processes (Booth, 1995, 1996).

Some schools are failing to make the connection between discrimination in the wider community and what happens in schools. Some teachers saw Gypsy Traveller pupils as inappropriately or excessively concerned with their rights, unaware that their lives may be a struggle to achieve basic rights and that a strong response to injustice reflects a life where injustice is routine. School staff often had little understanding of Travelling life, sometimes rather stereotyped views, based on notions of their history. One Gypsy Traveller mother was clear that schools should understand the many common aspects of their lives with settled families. Her account of meeting kids from one of her children's schools was ironic.

... and this lass said what do you eat for dinner and I said 'Hedgehogs. We cook it over a fire and we eat hedgehogs.' I said 'We're just like everybody else and we actually have light bulbs and a telly and all that' and I said 'We have exactly the same as you except we live in a trailer.' (Gypsy Traveller mother 6)

Troyna and Hatcher (1992) have written clearly about the dangers of schools offering exotic stereotyped insights into 'strange' cultures as an intended support for pupils from minority ethnic communities. It was clear that while some Traveller pupils wished not to be acknowledged as Travellers, most responded positively when teachers had knowledge and awareness of their lives.

Anti-racism and anti-bullying policies—privatising of public issues

Some schools had clear anti-racist policies, others clear policies on bullying, yet many Traveller pupils still experienced ethnocentric name calling, and Traveller support staff were not always optimistic about policies' effectiveness.

I'm probably old and cynical, but I get, I don't know whether you'd agree but I think there is a thin veil of all our MCARE and all your multicultural education and I think there's a veneer of, we must be seen, you mustn't show your prejudices, among teachers. And I think it's very thin, sometimes—if something goes wrong, they think 'You see!' People, you know, who I'm surprised at. (Traveller support teacher. MCARE = multicultural and anti-racist education)

Many schools have clear policies which are not delivered. This may however be more complicated than is sometimes acknowledged in practice (Gillborn, 1995; Troyna and Hatcher, 1992). Connolly argues

'...racism is not simply a unified and unproblematic set of beliefs and practices but is inherently contradictory and contingent and can only be understood in terms of how it relates to other systems of inequality, including class, gender and sexuality' (Connolly, 1995, p 134).

It seemed from our evidence that some schools were failing not only to use their anti-bullying / racism procedures to respond to name calling but were also unaware of broader issues of culture and ethos in the school and its relationship to the wider community.

There is confusion and a lack of knowledge about ideas of ethnicity and racism/ethnocentrism. Travellers may not be recognised as ethnic groups and racism seen as something that happens to black people. A further characteristic of schools was to individualise difficulties either by dealing with name calling through the disciplinary systems as single incidents or by failing to discuss the possibility of institutional racism/ethnocentrism, which, '...operates through the normal workings of the system rather than the conscious intent of the prejudiced individual' (Commission for Racial Equality, 1991, p 2). Individualising problems leads to what Troyna and Vincent (1996) called privatising of public issues.

Staff rarely reflected critically on their school's culture or organisation, tending to see problems in individual terms. As one of the Traveller support staff observed, cultures are not exclusive to minority ethnic communities.

What I think the shortfall is there is that teachers in schools are not aware of their own culture, they are all dying to be told about Travellers culture but they are not aware that this is a system that they operate in... you really have to have a close introspective look at the culture you are creating in a school.

The need for a wider perspective in schools

For schools to address the problem of racist name calling described by Traveller young people, a greater awareness is required by staff of its incidence in their school and the powerful impact it may have on pupils' attitudes to school and school attendance. Both Show and Gypsy Travellers families saw bullying and name calling in school as inevitable. The Show Traveller families however in other respects had broadly positive attitudes towards school—many were very knowledgeable and chose their children's schools carefully. For Show Traveller pupils name calling was unpleasant, sometimes getting them into fights but was accepted as something that could often be dealt with. Although their teachers underestimated the incidence of name calling and bullying, they tended to be positive about the children's presence. For Gypsy Traveller children and young people however name calling and bullying was part of a wider picture of a more problematic experience in school and community associated with both non-attendance and disciplinary exclusion.

It requires deliberate effort to develop understanding at each of the levels discussed (Troyna, and Hatcher, 1992; Epstein, 1993; Connolly, 1995) by contextualising their

experience in the wider position of Travellers in Britain, of their history, culture, of the local community and an analysis of the institutional norms and practice and relationships of their schools as well as an account of the specific biographies, histories and contexts of name calling incidents. Where this understanding existed among teachers this often was as a result of mediation by Traveller support staff.

Conclusion

We recognised the dilemmas faced by those who see their culture threatened or devalued by schooling and the difficulties this created for individual pupils expected to operate in both cultures. To recognise the wider role of the structures of schooling in influencing their experience does not deny the emotional intensity of that individual experience (Furlong, 1991). However simply to respond to name calling as an individual problem is inadequate. Listening to children and responding to individual incidents of name calling is necessary but insufficient to address wider peer group issues. Schools could do much more through a recognition of the importance of social relationships, both in the curriculum and in the formal and informal interactions between teachers and pupils and among children and young people. We have argued earlier that this requires a recognition of the social and cultural context of the school and attitudes of neighbourhood. These relationships are the basis of the experience of social inclusion or exclusion. There may well be a dilemma, in particular for Gypsy Travellers, in their wish not to experience the difficult aspects of exclusion but ambivalent about full inclusion in school. Schools equally face dilemmas in striving to become inclusive within an educational context which often constructs children in terms of ability and achievement, failing to recognise the destructiveness of prejudice and the exclusion which follows a denial of difference.

Most Scottish councils have policies intended to encourage greater school attendance of Traveller children. Councils and schools have policies and procedures on racism and bullying. As many of the children and young people interviewed felt unsupported, there is a clear case for their review and for the promotion of a stronger awareness of the position of Traveller pupils in school. 'Teachers should fix situations where there are problems and not dismiss them as untrue.' (Bob Gypsy Traveller) 'I don't want my boy singled out, I want him put where he belongs.' (Show Traveller father 13)

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Including ADHD?

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ABSTRACT *This article tries to make sense of the recent rise of Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder in Britain by focussing on the contribution of the press, parents organisations, 'experts' and the drug companies, in the context of the current marketisation of education and health services. It draws on findings from a research project which studied press coverage of ADHD, and argues that the existence of active parents' organisations pushing for medical diagnoses and drug treatment for their children presents a challenge to our thinking about inclusion.*

Introduction: the rise and rise of ADHD

The diagnosis of Attention Deficit (Hyperactivity) Disorder has increased dramatically in the last few years. Prescriptions in Britain for Ritalin, the brand name for methylphenidate hydrochloride, the drug most often prescribed, have increased dramatically in the 1990s. This article argues that the rapidly increasing rate of identification of children with AD(H)D presents a problem for thinking about inclusion. The development of a social perspective on disability and the rejection of the medical model is challenged by the existence of a large group of parents asserting their 'rights', and the right of their children to be classified as having a medically defined disorder and to be prescribed medication. We argue that this phenomenon needs to be understood and not simply disregarded by writers committed to inclusion. We have to make sense of the social context of the rise of ADHD, but also have to find a way to develop a dialogue with the children and families.

Evidence for the rapid statistical increase in the number of children identified as having ADHD can be seen, as indicated above, from the prescription rates of methylphenidate, Ritalin, the drug most frequently, although not exclusively, prescribed (Norris & Lloyd, forthcoming). This data is available from the Department of Health in England and the Common Services Agency in Scotland. It can be obtained, but can be reproduced only with the specific approval of these departments on the grounds that the information is commercially sensitive! Prior (1997) makes the point that if US prescribing practices were to be replicated here (and the current rate of increase suggests that this is not unlikely!) we would see 1 in 25 children on medication. He argues that such a large scale pharmacological intervention (some would say experiment) in the lives of young people ought to be the

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subject of a more public discussion. Yet the commercial orientation of the health service information gathering system makes this more difficult. The figures do show an increase of huge proportions, which indicate strong grounds for questions about why this should be the case at this time.

Much of the academic literature on ADHD has been written by enthusiastic proponents, few informing families and professionals about exceptions, and within a strongly psychological or medical perspective (Barkley, 1990; Cooper & Ideus, 1995; British Psychological Society (BPS), 1996; Brown, 1997; Connor *et al.*, 1997; Cooper, 1997). Much of this literature refers rather unquestioningly to incidence rates, and medical and psychological practices in the USA and Australia. There has also been considerable media interest. In order to develop some understanding of the role of the media in the rise of AD(H)D we carried out an analysis of press coverage, looking at 98 articles published in the broadsheet and tabloid press in the last 5 years, and identifying the themes and patterns that emerged (Norris & Lloyd, forthcoming). Newspaper articles have played an important role in mediating information about ADHD, in publicising and providing information to parents and to professionals, and in contributing to the debate as to what ADHD 'is', its origins, characteristics and 'cures'. The analysis of the articles identified two dominant themes, the voice of parents and the role of experts.

Campaigning Parents

The majority of articles included parents describing the difficulties they had faced with their children prior to diagnosis, many very critical of the lack of support they had received from professionals. The parents felt that they had been blamed. Parents often quoted, who were active in the support groups, felt that the professionals themselves were not informed. The volume of press coverage with the availability of huge amounts of material on the Internet meant that parents often felt much more informed than the professional, GPs and psychologists to whom they had taken their children. 'Informed' implied acceptance of the notion of ADHD and a willingness to prescribe drug treatment. Frequently, parents referred to practice in the USA or Australia to support their assertion that Britain is backward in its recognition and treatment of ADHD. Reluctance on the part of British professionals to prescribe drug treatment to children is seen as bad practice rather than legitimate clinical caution.

We are extremely cross with the medical profession. It's about time they got their act together. (Spokesperson for ADHD Family Support Group. Daily Mail 25/7/95) Stories are legion of parents struggling for years to get their children diagnosed as ADD in the face of a vociferous lobby of educationalists and psychologists who continue to insist child behaviour has social, rather than biological, causes. (*Scotland on Sunday* 17/12/1995.)

The inclusive tradition in academic writing has tended to dismiss parents like these as middle class parents fighting for more than their share of scarce resources (Slee, 1995; Corbett & Norwich, 1997; Dyson, 1997). This seem to us be an inadequate

response for two reasons. First, although some articles suggest that there is a class basis to patterns of prescription in the US, there is certainly no evidence to support the assertion that children being identified in Britain are overwhelmingly middle class. Certainly, there were some middle class parents quoted in the press coverage, but clearly not all parents quoted were middle class. Sometimes families were described where the diagnosis of child with ADHD was part of a picture, which included exclusion from school, delinquency, problems with neighbours on council estates. There is little recent research into the social class basis of identification of different 'forms' of special educational need. Second, there is a danger that we recognise the struggle that many parents have with the education system to obtain what they see as the most appropriate education for their child, but by implication, 'approve' of some parents, but not others (Ballard, 1997). Parents who push for inclusion of their children with physical disabilities into the mainstream may be applauded. Those who look for a medical explanation may be disregarded. The parents' voice is heard only if we agree with it.

Academics and professionals have been understandably criticised by the disability movement in recent years for their identification and maintenance of disability as sickness (Ballard, 1997). It is important for us to explore why there are currently groups of parents arguing so strongly for the medical model. One argument involves the idea of 'labels of forgiveness' (Slee, 1995; Reid & Maag, 1997), which imply that special status should be granted to these children. 'Labels of forgiveness applied to children include, learning disability, minimal brain dysfunction and AD(H)D since they are all thought to have some neurobiological bases, thereby exculpating the individual of responsibility for their actions. Therefore not all labels are created equally', Reid & Maag 1997, p. 14). Children with 'emotional and behavioural difficulties' may be choosing to behave badly, but those with AD(H)D may be seen to have no choice (Maras *et al.*, 1997). Of course the 'meanings' of the labels themselves may vary. EBD was used by the DFE (1994b) to indicate behaviour that should be understood and defined in its distinction from behaviour that is just 'bad'. The use of these labels in practice may derive from an approach in education to understanding children's actions which divides into a simplistic dualism of bad or good (but sick).

Many articles quoted parents who felt criticised and condemned by professionals.

They say medics at Aberdeen Royal Infirmary have refused to recognise ADD and claim psychiatrists at the hospital branded their son a yob and dismissed them as bad parents. (Parents whose son is suing the hospital, *Scottish Daily Record* 15/2/96.) In this country hyperactive children are branded yobs and people like me are branded bad mothers. (Another parent suing this hospital, *Scottish Daily Record*, 7/2/96.)

The *Sun*, in 1991, agreed to pay libel damages to a 5-year-old boy it had called the worst brat in Britain. The *Independent* reported that Jonathan suffered from ADHD and was 'registered disabled'. The editor of the *Sun* accepted that Jonathan was therefore not 'wilfully naughty' (*Independent*, 24/5/91).

A diagnosis of ADHD may also bring financial support for parents in that the identification of such a syndrome may bring entitlement to state disability benefit, both in the USA and in Britain (Livingston, 1997; Reid & Maag, 1997). This is important in our understanding of why some parents may argue for the 'label', suggesting that this cannot simply be a middle class phenomenon, but may also be related to poverty!

Labels of Forgiveness?

We have argued above that it may be in the interests of parents to select a label that implies a biologically-based cause, since this eliminates blame and may even produce financial help. We acknowledge, of course, that there are strong arguments against the use of a medical paradigm. Such labels do not help our understanding. Many writers have questioned whether pathologising individuals is the most useful way of conceptualising and responding to their educational needs (Prior, 1997). Slee argues for the deleterious effect on the expectations of teachers of medical prognostications, and special educational test criteria and graphs (Slee, 1995). This kind of labelling can deny the individual humanity and complexity of children. It reproduces discourses that produce 'normal' childhood behaviour and therefore contribute to the production of deviants.

It raises important questions for academics and professionals as to how parents and children such as those diagnosed with ADHD can feel supported without resorting to labels. Can we construct a response that does not deny the experience, does not allocate blame, and allows parents and children to find personal and financial support without resorting to medical diagnoses?

Labels do stigmatise pupils; they also by their derivation denote which professional group holds the understanding of the 'condition' diagnosed and holds the power over the patient/pupil. The label AD(H)D puts the medical profession in control or rather it puts the particular medical 'experts' in control—it creates a professional discourse, which is excluding. This makes it difficult to challenge by the lay person or by other professionals, such as teachers who do not have access to this specialised discourse. Conversely, such apparent certainties may inspire confidence in parents and teachers (Christianson, 1992; Ferguson *et al.*, 1997; Slee, 1995).

The Role of 'Experts'

Many of the 'experts' quoted by the press have made a career out of ADHD or are messianic in their approach, often amplifying ADHD into an explanation of all deviance.

Gary is one of a staggering 40,000 Scots schoolchildren who suffer from Attention Deficit Disorder, a brain gene problem that causes violent behaviour, hyperactivity and poor concentration. A Scots expert now believes that it is one of the major causes of youth crime. (*Scottish Daily Record*, 21/1/1998.)

With many article there is an indication of where parents can get help, for example, the telephone help lines run by the parents' organisations. So parents who phone such help lines will be offered further information by other parents already committed to the cause. The effect of press coverage is itself mentioned in the articles.

The ADHD Family Support group is in favour of making medication more widely available. In the last 18 months the group has received 4,000 letters and telephone calls from desperate parents. A spokesman said 'We receive around 20 letters a day from parents desperate for help. After one recent magazine article that went up to 600 a day. (*Daily Mail*, 25/7/95.)

The articles show clearly the alliances made by the enthusiastic professionals with parents.

Dr Steer is the only doctor in Scotland listed by the ADHD parents' support group as a health professional dealing with this condition.

"I don't think the kids will get the service they deserve if they can't go to Dr Steer," Burr said. "He listens and doesn't blame the parents. Ritalin has the highest success rate so why back other methods which have a lower success rate," she added. (Parent of child identified with ADHD, *Scotland on Sunday*, 22/6/97.)

So good professionals prescribe Ritalin. More cautious professionals (BPS, 1996; Prior, 1997) are criticised by parents' groups as out of touch and unsympathetic. Professionals attempting to argue that this is a complex phenomenon, or that there are arguments for and against the use of drugs tend, for obvious reasons, not to have their views so prominently expressed.

Newspapers give you medical research as if it was Wagner with the sublime moments but the long boring half-hours left out. How then do you show people the half hours? (Dr T. Wilkie, *Medicine in Society*, *Guardian*, 19/2/98.)

There were three groups of 'experts' quoted in the press, those who as above presented ADHD uncritically within a biological model, those who were presented as taking the middle ground, recognising the existence of the condition, although often using the European terminology of Hyperkinetic Disorder (HKD), but not necessarily accepting the US or Australia model of prevalence rates, and those who were highly critical of the notion of ADHD as a distinct syndrome. Those professionals in the middle group may be subject to a process of incorporation by the enthusiastic proponents, for example, psychiatrists like Hill or Taylor, each quoted several times with a moderate position, have in recent years appeared as speakers at the conferences organised by the campaigning International Psychology Services alongside those 'experts' representing the extremes of biological determinism.

Experts quoted included psychiatrists, child development experts and psychologists. None of the articles reviewed quoted either teachers or GPs. So the media debate is conducted by professionals on both sides with a particular background in medicine and psychology, with an expertise in highly selected referred groups of

children, rather than in the general day to day context of childhood and schooling. Those who work in the latter are, as argued earlier, excluded from the expert discourse.

All the 'experts' themselves are clearly affected by the publicity and the campaigns around ADHD. In particular, the rapid increase in the prescription of methylphenidate is acknowledged to have been highly influenced by the decision of Ciba Geigy to reintroduce and actively market Ritalin in Britain in the early 1990s. "Recent changes in marketing practices in the UK that re-introduced the primary medication for HKD, methylphenidate, after a ten year absence, contributed to a rapid increase in the administrative prevalence of HKD in the UK" (Swanson *et al.*, 1998 p. 430).

Drugs and the Role of the Drug Companies

Methylphenidate in its different forms represents a huge profit-making sector of the US drug market, estimated at around 450 million dollars a year. Its performance is of major concern to financial analysts and stock holders, instanced in the following series of press city comments on the US drug company Medeva.

Medeva should soon have news on improvements to its methylphenidate attention deficit disorder treatment. Acquisitions from other groups have brought it Ionamin, a successful anti-obesity treatment. The coming year should be good. (*Telegraph*, 29/12/96.)

... analysts expressed some concern about slowing growth rates for Medeva's top-selling and most profitable drug, methylphenidate which is used to control attention deficit disorder in children and young adults. (*Scotsman*, 20/2/97.)

In 1997, the share price of Medeva fell after reports of health risks connected with the anti-obesity drug. Analysts warned:

Investors had also expressed concerns about the threat to methylphenidate, Medeva's treatment for attention deficit hyperactivity disorder. Rival groups has not yet introduced their products to the market, so sales of the treatment rose 6% to £54 m but the competition is expected to enter the market soon. (*Telegraph*, 17/7/97.)

Competition is fierce:

Richwood's treatments for attention deficit disorder, Adderall and Dex-troStat, compete against Ciba Geigy and Medeva but have taken a 7% market share in 18 months. To date, Richwood has targeted the 1 1/2 m hyperactive American children. There are about 6 m American adults with the same problem, only about 5% of whom currently have treatment. (*Telegraph*, 5/8/97.)

The literature on ADHD in earlier years argued for the use of methylphenidate as a drug for preadolescent children. However, it is now argued that it can be of benefit

to older young people and adults. The new markets needed for the drug companies depend on its expansion to the adult population in the USA and/or the development of new markets abroad. Interestingly, the drug more often prescribed in Australia is dextroamphetamine, as this and not methylphenidate, was on the list of Government subsidised drugs (Slee, 1995).

The medical literature is clear in its overall agreement that methylphenidate 'works', in fact it works for everyone, not simply those identified with ADHD; although there are still doubts expressed over its long-term effectiveness (Swanson *et al.*, 1998). Reason, however, argues: "... psychostimulant medicine can be an effective palliative and temporarily enhance powers of concentration whether you have AD/HD or not (it was apparently used by air traffic controllers during the Second World War). What worries me is that as currently identified in the USA, AD/HD unduly pathologises individual differences" (Reason, 1997, p. 22).

In the USA and in Australia the prescription rates vary considerably between states reflecting a range of non-medical factors and paediatric judgment (Weiss, 1996; Livingston, 1997). In the USA there was massive funding of parents' organisations by the drug companies, who were also a major source of information. (Between 1989 and 1995 CHADD, the parents' organisation, received more than \$818,000 dollars from Ciba Geigy makers of Ritalin.) Children in the USA overall consume more methylphenidate than in the whole of the rest of the world (Reid & Maag, 1997). There is increasing concern in some quarters. In 1996, the UN Narcotics Control Board released a report. "The Board requests all government to exercise the utmost vigilance in order to prevent 'overdiagnosing' of ADD in children and medically unjustified treatment with methylphenidate and other stimulants" (UN, 1996). For several years increasing worries have been expressed in the USA over misuse of the drug. Methylphenidate is in the top 10 most frequently reported controlled pharmaceuticals stolen (DEA, 1995). There is increasing evidence of its widespread recreational use (*Boston Globe*, 2/12/98). "Every indicator available, including scientific abuse liability studies, actual abuse, paucity of scientific studies on possible adverse effects associated with long term use of stimulants, divergent prescribing practices of US physicians, and lack of concurrent medical treatment and follow-up, urge greater caution and more restrictive use of MPH" (DEA, 1995).

Our understanding of the phenomenon of ADHD has, therefore, to include a recognition of the powerful role of aggressive marketing and the influence of the drug companies on diagnoses and prescription rates, and therefore on estimations of prevalence. This understanding need not mean necessarily that we always argue against the use of drug treatment in situations where parents and children are desperate, and where they say that it works. It does mean that we have to ask serious questions about the role of drugs and drug companies, especially in the UK, where historically there has been less use of drug treatment than in the USA (James, 1996; Swanson *et al.*, 1998). Is it inevitable that we become a more drug orientated society?

Equally, there are questions to be asked about the relationship between the widespread use of prescription drugs and the increasing use of illegal drugs. Arm-

strong argues that books in the USA for parents and children about ADHD depend on a model of the human body as a machine. "These simplistic metaphors seem to imply that human beings aren't really very complex organisms and that one simply needs to find the right wrench, use the proper gas, or tinker with the appropriate circuit box—and all will be well" (Armstrong, 1996 p. 427) Thus, we accept that drugs can 'fix' behaviour. The leading class of drugs sold domestically in the USA over the last decade has been central nervous system drugs, about a fourth of all drug sales (Porter, 1997). As 'normality' can be adjusted pharmacologically we redefine our discourses of abnormality.

There is something odd, if not downright ironic, about the picture of millions of American schoolchildren filing out of 'drug awareness' classes to line up in the school nurse's office for their midday dose of amphetamine. (Livingston, 1997 p. 5).

The Concept of ADHD

The above kind of model is also evident in Britain in courses and books aimed at teachers, which tend to explain the condition with reductionist simplicity (Ferguson *et al.*, 1997). The implication is that teachers are not able to understand complexities, not that there is professional disagreement over the condition (BPS, 1997). When the press quoted the pro 'experts', e.g. Dr Cosgrove they tended to offer a simple model.

"ADHD is a form of brain dysfunction caused when the chemical called dopamine is found in insufficient amounts in the front part of the brain", he explained. (*Telegraph* 15/12/96.)

Sometimes the model involved a more expansionist view which tied the idea of ADHD to general disruptiveness or suggested that it could be an explanation of delinquency.

The concept of ADHD, like that of special educational needs in the Scottish legislation, is tautological. Children have it because they show the behaviours which define it. They show the behaviours because they have ADHD. As a syndrome, ADHD rests on the identification of a cluster of behaviours, subjectively assessed. The term comes from the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM, currently IV, 1994 version), which defines psychiatric disorder as fixed measurable categories, either present or absent. The diagnostic criteria for ADHD have like others, been defined and redefined over the years. The DSM reflects the views of those who construct it, as well as reflecting changes in social attitudes over the years, for example, the presence and then removal in the twentieth century of homosexuality as a category. There are still key difference between the identification rules for ADHD in the DSM IV and those for HKD in the International Classification of Diseases (WHO, 1992, p. 93) produced by the World Health Organisation, which lead to different rates of identification and to

different estimates of prevalence (Swanson *et al.*, 1998). Increasingly, however, British professionals seem to refer to the DSM approach.

Reason argues that ADHD is simply a shorthand for describing children's behaviour as inattentive, over-active or disruptive to an extent that is unwarranted for their developmental age (Reason, 1997). Other literature is also critical of the biological simplicity of some of the conceptual models offered by pro 'experts' like Kewley who argue that ADHD is a straightforward measurable biological condition (Kewley, 1997). The arguments about biology are important for those of use concerned with inclusion to address. It is clear that in the field of special educational needs there are conditions which have a biological, sometimes an identifiable genetic, origin. It has been important for the disability movement to argue strongly against a model which defined people in medical terms, as determined by their disability. It is equally important to argue against a crude biologism in the context of ADHD, but at the same time we have to begin to try and make sense of the huge medical developments which tend to be reported simplistically, usually causally, in the press, with phrases like "delinquency is in the genes", "oppositional behaviour is caused by the brain" ... etc. Even if it may be possible to 'measure' the existence of something like ADHD through brain imaging, there are still hugely important questions about the complex relationship of this to the actions of children in a social context. Equally, it is important to point out that brain research has also recently shown the versatility and adaptability of parts of the brain, and that brain development is not fixed at birth, but that it continues to develop in interaction with the environment during childhood.

The notion of biology in interaction with environment is a more useful model for those concerned to recognise the reality of the problem experienced by some children and their families. Some writers argue for a developmental, contextual perspective on ADHD (Pellegrini & Horvat, 1995). An understanding of children's actions which acknowledges the relevance of their inherited or acquired biological features does not need to become narrowly deterministic. It is possible to build these understandings into models which emphasise a dynamic interaction between individual and environment—even highly individualist human characteristics develop in a human social and physical environment (Caprara & Rutter, 1995; Pellegrini & Horvat, 1995). Biologies can be created by and are responsive to environments. The recognition, referred to above, that innate factors are involved in physical disabilities has not prevented us from seeing the social construction of the experience of disability and the institutional role in limiting individual potential.

Gender Matters

There is a gender imbalance in the diagnoses of ADHD. This tends to be noted, as in the following quote from a paper in the *Lancet*, but not often discussed. "The ratio of boys to girls with ADHD/HKD is between 3:1 and 9:1 but this may decrease with age. Part of the differences between the sexes may be referral bias related to symptoms of disruptive behaviour since boys have more hyperactive/impulsive symptoms and more conduct and oppositional symptoms than girls" (Swanson *et*

al., 1998, p. 429). There is no further discussion of gender differences in the Lancet paper. Research into ADHD tends to involve only boys. Some discussion of gender differences relies on social context-based explanations for the differences despite earlier assertions of an individualistic, biologically-based account. Cooper and Ideus, for example, argue that externalising behaviours such as the more hyperactive form of ADHD are more common in boys, whereas girls are more inclined to internalise their 'problems', and they account for this in terms of sex role expectations. There is no suggestion that the greater existence of the hyperactive form in boys could equally be related to such social expectations—it has already been explained as the result of "... chronic underfunctioning in brain chemistry" (Cooper & Ideus, 1996).

The gender issue points again to the importance of the promotion of an understanding of the social context which challenges the notions that culture is irrelevant in understanding children's behaviour and that you can transfer a 'syndrome' from one culture to another, and expect to find an identical incidence and response.

The Educational Context

What has happened in education during the 1990s, which might be relevant to understanding why teachers are seeing this dramatic increase of children with ADHD in their classrooms? Important factors must include the marketisation of education, the greater local autonomy of schools, league tables of performance, greater central specification of the curriculum and the 'celebration of individualism' (Barton, 1997). The parallel increase in exclusion from school points to an educational climate where children who do not conform are individually blamed. "... describes this as an insidious device for regulation and surveillance of increasing numbers of students" as ADHD changes disruptiveness to dysfunction, allowing parents to be 'forgiven; neither they or the school are responsible (Slee, 1997 p. 413). Teachers may be more likely to identify a child's behaviour as disturbed rather than disruptive if this brings external support or additional funding (Galloway *et al.*, 1994). Various writers have pointed to the impact of policy upon the creation of categories in order to attract special resources, funding or personnel (Slee, 1995; Corbett & Norwich, 1997).

Syndromes Means Funds

Dyson describes the 'colonisation' of mainstream schools by special educators who in theory are "... working to transform those schools; in practice, they are constantly under pressure simply to reproduce the traditional features of special education" (Dyson, 1997). In Scotland, the attempts of some education authorities to distribute scarce resources equitably to the most 'deserving' schools have led to the development of audit procedures, which encourage the identification of 'syndromes' or specifically labelled disorders in order to justify funding of learning support staff. This parallels the impact in England of statementing procedures and the Code of

Practice (DfE, 1994a; Dyson, 1997) emphasising those groups of children with identifiable disabilities rather than those with those associated with social disadvantage like moderate learning difficulties, or emotional and behavioural difficulties. It would be understandable if teachers, as well as parents, looking for scarce resources for this group were to look for ways in which they could justify their arguments by minimising the social disadvantage and emphasising individual need.

Discussion

We have argued that the case of ADHD is problematic for those of us who are concerned about inclusion. The pressure from groups of parents for a medicalising of their children's difficulties and the prescribing of drugs, supported by enthusiastic professional proponents and by marketing of drugs has been widely reported in the press. The marketisation of education and health services with the associated emphasis on individuals as consumers supports this process. It cannot, however simply be ignored or dismissed as middle class parents arguing for scarce resources. It must be important to promote further critical debate over the concept of ADHD, its use and the medical response. There is a danger that practice will be increasingly influenced by inaccessible medicalised discourses, which exclude teachers who feel left behind and bewildered by an array of biological theories. We need to read the research into the arguments about genetic and environmental influences, so that we can argue with the crude biological determinism we find not only in the press, but in the professional literature for teachers. Cooper may be right when he argues that challenges to the validity of the diagnosis of ADHD should not be based simply on a blanket rejection of the medical model (Cooper, 1997) He then goes on, however, to embrace the concept of ADHD enthusiastically. We can be more informed in our challenges.

There is a strong argument for further research into the social class basis of identification of certain 'syndromes', and into the relationship between identification and financial benefit. There is an argument for continued research into the politics of resource allocation and the implementation of the code of practice, statementing practices in England, and Recording and local council use of audits in Scotland. Educational professionals could develop a dialogue with parents about the resource issue and point to the reemergence of medical labelling in order to obtain scarce resources, when as Corbett and Norwich point out the notion of individual deficit becomes a political rather than a psychological concept (Corbett & Norwich, 1997). Equally, there could be further discussion of the relationship between disciplinary exclusion and exclusionary practices in schools, and the wish of parents to find medical labels for their children. We need to explore the role of the drug companies in promoting the identification and treatment of certain conditions. The White Paper on freedom of information published in 1998 by the British Government suggested that there might be occasions when information might be withheld, for example in relation to commercial confidentiality. The magazine *Health Which* (April 1998) argues that there is still a need for further campaigning over public information on drug prescription and on licensing and safety issues.

Conclusions

Implied in the process of disciplinary exclusion and that of assessment of special educational need, is the notion that inclusion depends on entitlement to participate in mainstream or sometimes in any education. Not all pupils may be entitled. If pupils are difficult or challenging they may not be considered worthy of inclusion. Worthiness is not implied in explanations involving social disadvantage or learning difficulties, but medicalised explanations convey worthiness and, by association, funding. In this paper, we have tried to argue that challenging this requires us to think about the complex relationships between education and parents, the media, the medical profession and private enterprise. It is possible to develop a sociological perspective without denying the psychological validity of the experience for children and parents. It should allow us to consider how we can transform our educational practices so that individual medicalised solutions are not the only way to avoid the blaming of parents and children.

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12 From Ragged to Residential Schools: Schooling away from Home for Troubled and Troublesome Children

GWYNEDD LLOYD

This chapter looks at the development of the present Scottish residential schools from the industrial and ragged schools and reformatories of the nineteenth century to the approved and List D schools of the twentieth century. Contemporary residential schools look very different from their precursors, but the debate around their use shares many features with that from 150 years ago.

EARLY SCHOOLS AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT

The history of schools in Scotland for troubled and troublesome boys and girls is usually thought to begin with the establishment in 1841 of the first industrial feeding school for vagrant youths and beggars from the streets, by Sheriff Watson in Aberdeen:

The essential features of such a school were that it should deal with the lowest element in the urban population and in many cases it had not only to instruct but to feed and clothe its pupils. Inevitably since the battle was against criminal tendencies some industrial schools tended to be reformatories.¹

The industrial schools were established by philanthropic individuals and constituted part of a British movement in which celebrated figures such as Mary Carpenter, John Pounds, Sheriff Watson and Dr Guthrie attempted to transform the approach to juvenile justice which had previously, like the adult system, been characterised by whipping, imprisonment, hanging and transportation. The new approaches emphasised reformation of character. Pearson makes the point that the reformers were divided in their views of the origins of juvenile crime but that, while some believed that poverty was the cause, many of the

best-known would agree with Mary Carpenter that 'It is from the mismanagement or low moral condition of the parents, rather than from poverty, that juvenile crime grows'.²

The answer lay in the moral strength of education. The prime minister Tony Blair made much of the slogan 'Education, education, education' in the 1997 parliamentary election campaign. This is reminiscent of the words of Micaiah Hill in 1853 in his book on juvenile delinquency: 'Educate! Educate! is the cry of the day or England's flag may be struck and her sun set forever in a sea of blood'.³ For Pearson, the mid-nineteenth century philanthropists were 'staggeringly optimistic about the ease with which they might accomplish their self-appointed task of reclamation'.⁴ He argues that this optimism derives from considerable ignorance on the part of the early reformers as to how the Victorian working classes actually lived. Their documents are filled with statistics on the horrors of drink, prostitution and crime but show little real awareness of the ordinary daily lives of the people.

Some of the industrial schools had been called ragged schools, influenced by the movement started in England by John Pounds. In Scotland a pamphlet, *A Plea for Ragged Schools*, was published by Dr Thomas Guthrie, who had been one of the founders of the Free Church. The first ragged school in Edinburgh was founded by Dr Chalmers in the West Port and the next by Dr Guthrie himself. The terms ragged and industrial seem to have been used somewhat interchangeably, some writers suggesting that they were different, others that they were very similar. Another school was Snowdon, in Stirling, set up in 1849 by donations, including £50 from the Caledonian Hunt. In its constitution, it is referred to as both an industrial and a ragged school:

It shall be the object of this Institution to reclaim the neglected and profligate children of Stirling and the neighbourhood, by affording them the benefits of a good common and Christian education and by training them to habits of regular industry, so as to enable them to earn an honest livelihood and fit them for the duties of life.⁵

The boys and girls in the school were to be provided with a sufficiency of plain, wholesome food and were to be taught to read, write, spell and cipher and to be trained in industrial habits of labour and general usefulness. Children who failed to behave properly could receive 'moderate correction with an ordinary rod, or cane or tawse' or 'separate confinement in a room or light closet during the day or for any time not exceeding three days in succession'.⁶ The minutes of the first general Meeting of Snowdon School describe it as the Stirling Ragged School and contain the following observation:

The term ragged is certainly not an inappropriate one to designate

those who have been admitted to the school for, with one or two exceptions they presented (indeed some of them still present) a very ragged and desolate appearance - dressed in clothes usually too big for them and hanging in tatters scarcely covering their limbs, without shoes or stockings and with caps full of holes through which uncombed hair projected - some with shirts and some without - or in rags worthy of the name Ragged ... when taken in they were all stripped and washed thoroughly, their hairs cut and a set of different clothes given by other people.⁷

In October 1851, the list of donations to the school included four cows' feet from a Mr Stewart, various gifts of loaves of bread and several of vegetables and of clothing. Mrs Reid gave a frock, a polka, two capes, a vest, two jackets, a pair of trousers, a handkerchief and three pairs of stockings. Messrs Henderson Brothers gave twenty-four straw bonnets.⁸ By 1922, Snowdon had become a Girls' Industrial School, and by 1929 the term 'industrial' was removed from the title to avoid any possible stigma attaching to the pupils.

REFORMING SCHOOLS

In the 1850s, the reformatory approach of some of the industrial schools was formally recognised by the Youthful Offenders Act 1854 which set up official reformatory schools while the remaining industrial schools came under some state regulation in the Industrial Schools Act of the same year. Hunter identifies the first Scottish reformatory as the House of Refuge for Boys set up in Glasgow in 1837.⁹ The Old Mill Reformatory in Aberdeen was set up to train pupils for work on farms. Wellington School which also became a farm school, at Leadburn near Edinburgh, was established by a committee of the Edinburgh Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders in an old coaching inn. There were two recorded objections to the site, the first from the neighbouring landowner and the second from John Smith, Governor of Edinburgh Prison, who feared that 'the high altitude of Wellington would have an adverse effect on the already weakened physique of the inmates'.¹⁰

The first recorded admission to the school in 1860 was James Watt, from Milne Square, Edinburgh. He was 11 years old, with no previous convictions, and had been sentenced to 14 days' imprisonment and five years' detention for stealing a bottle of hair oil from a barrow.¹¹ The school records show that he had been working as a bookbinder and that he 'has been at various schools but would not stay at any of them'. He is recorded as eventually being sent out as a tailor.

In the 1860s, the governors of Wellington set up a fund to assist boys with passage to the colonies (Fig. 12.1). The school papers show

that several local dignitaries contributed to this fund and that as boys established themselves in the New World they became a point of contact for other boys. The first headteacher, Mr Craston, had indeed travelled to Canada in 1876 to visit some ex-pupils. Boys wrote to the schools from the goldfields, from many varied occupations including those learned at the school of farming, carpentry and shoemaking and from many battlefields, including the Afghan wars, the Sudan expedition and World War I. Many of the boys had received training in farming on the school land. During World War I, boys picked sphagnum moss for field dressings. The diet of boys at this period is recorded in the school's papers and by contemporary standards seems limited but healthy and high in fibre!

Monday	6.10 am 2 pts cocoa 1 wholemeal biscuit
	9 am Oatmeal porridge (ad lib.) ½pt. milk
	12 noon Rice and milk (½pt each boy) ½lb bread (white or bran)
	2 ozs cheese or meat
	5.30 pm Porridge (ad lib.) ½pt milk.

The menu for the rest of the week shows the same for each day except at noon when there was:

Tuesday	12 noon lentil soup, ad lib. ½lb bread,
Wednesday	Savory rice ad lib, pt milk. ½lb bread - fruit
Thursday	Potato soup ad lib. (containing onions, carrots, turnips and potatoes)
	bread, ½lb. fruit or nuts
Friday	Fish and potatoes or scotch broth, bread, ½lb fruit
Saturday	Cheese and ground rice, ad lib. bread, ½lb fruit
Sunday	No early breakfast
	Sausages, stewed or in batter or Irish stew
	At tea time, bread and butter. ¹²

The beneficial impact of the industrial schools on the city landscape is argued by James Scotland, who points out that within five years of the establishment of Watson's school the number of juvenile vagrants in the county of Aberdeen had fallen from almost 400 to 14. In Edinburgh before the founding of schools by Dr Chalmers and Dr Guthrie, 5 per cent of misdemeanours in the city were committed by children under 14. By 1865 this figure, according to Dr Guthrie in his evidence to the Argyle Commission, was reduced to 2 per cent.¹³

The stated intentions of the philanthropic founders of the schools had often been to provide a moral guiding hand which was kind but firm. McCracken, however, quotes Hurt's description of the regime in reformatories and industrial schools as 'a disciplined and oppressive

APPROVED SCHOOLS

The terms 'industrial school' and 'reformatory' continued to be used until the introduction of the Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act 1932, the Act which renamed both kinds of school together as approved schools, that is, approved and certified by the Secretary of State as suitable for the education and training of juveniles and for the receipt of government financial support. The government department responsible for the schools in Scotland was the Scottish Education Department, and in England the Home Office. The bringing-together of the two differently designated groups of schools reflected the recognition that they shared many features; the distinction between offenders and disadvantaged was not clearly distinguished in their respective populations. The ability of the industrial schools to assist children simply because of their poverty had been limited by the 1861 Act which allowed industrial schools to receive a government subsidy of five shillings a head only when the child had been committed by a magistrate.

The newly designated approved schools' sector retained many of the characteristics of the earlier schools. Many used the same buildings which had been designed for mass management of large numbers of children and for formal daily routines. Bridgeland argued that the focus of the approved-school system in the years before and after World War II was on training rather than treating.¹⁷ The approved schools faced ambivalent expectations both to protect society and to provide care and help for the child in contrast with the newly emerging residential schools, particularly in England for the 'maladjusted'. Freed from the compulsory and restrictive features of approved schools, Bridgeland saw the schools for the maladjusted as free to experiment with progressive regimes and to develop a more therapeutic style (Figs 12.2 and 12.3).

SCHOOLS FOR 'MALADJUSTED' CHILDREN

The Advisory Council on Education in Scotland produced a report in 1952 called *Pupils who are Maladjusted because of Social Hardship*.¹⁸ Maladjustment was first mentioned as a formal category of special educational need in the annual report of the Secretary of State for Scotland, *Education in Scotland*, in 1955. This showed 34 pupils as receiving special education. The first school to be recognised by the Scottish Education Department had been the Bams Hostel School established in Peebles for the period of the war by David Wills, one of the charismatic heads (almost always male) associated with the development of the best-known schools. Wills was a Quaker with a strong belief that love was the central prerequisite of therapeutic work with children. The Bams Hostel, for what Bridgeland¹⁹ describes as 'disturbed and unbiltable

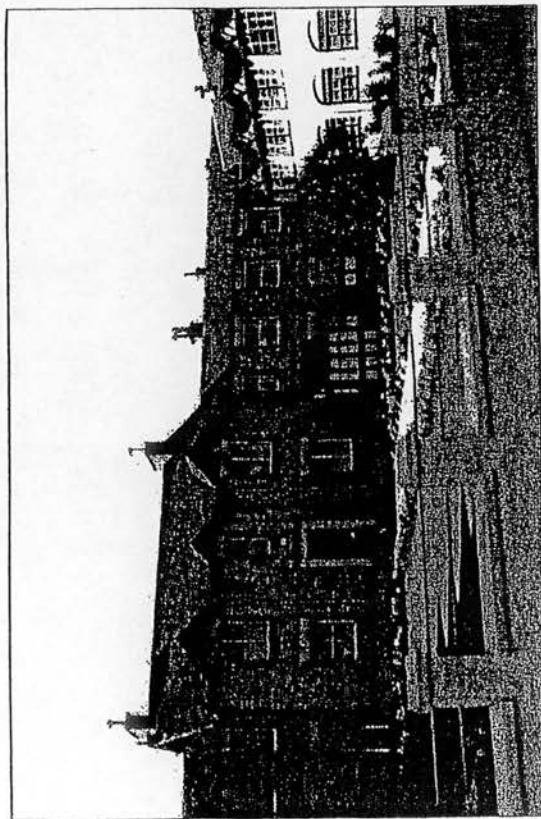


Figure 12.1 The former Wellington School, Penicuik.

routine of hard work, severe punishment, austere living conditions, and a spartan diet'.¹⁴ He argues that the industrial training offered by the schools was generally poor and that the children did not often follow the trades for which they had supposedly been prepared, instead entering unskilled occupations or the armed forces. There was little effective supervision by the state. Bridgeland argues that:

the complexity of the problem and a general uncertainty as to aim urged managers and staff towards the security offered by uniformity and systematisation. Economy also ... suggested the advantages of large institutions, underpaid, overworked and often undervalued staff, bleak physical conditions and work engaged in more for its financial rather than its educational value.¹⁵

The early humanitarian values were superseded by severe discipline and regimentation. The dilemma of care versus control is one of several, as McCracken points out, that are still common to the discussion of residential provision for young people in trouble: 'welfare or justice, care or control, sinner or sinned against, treatment or punishment, integration or segregation'.¹⁶ To this we might add management and funding by the state or by the voluntary sector. This sector of education has been characterised since the latter part of the nineteenth century by attempts by the state to further control and regulate establishments administered by voluntary boards of managers and by resistance on the part of the boards.

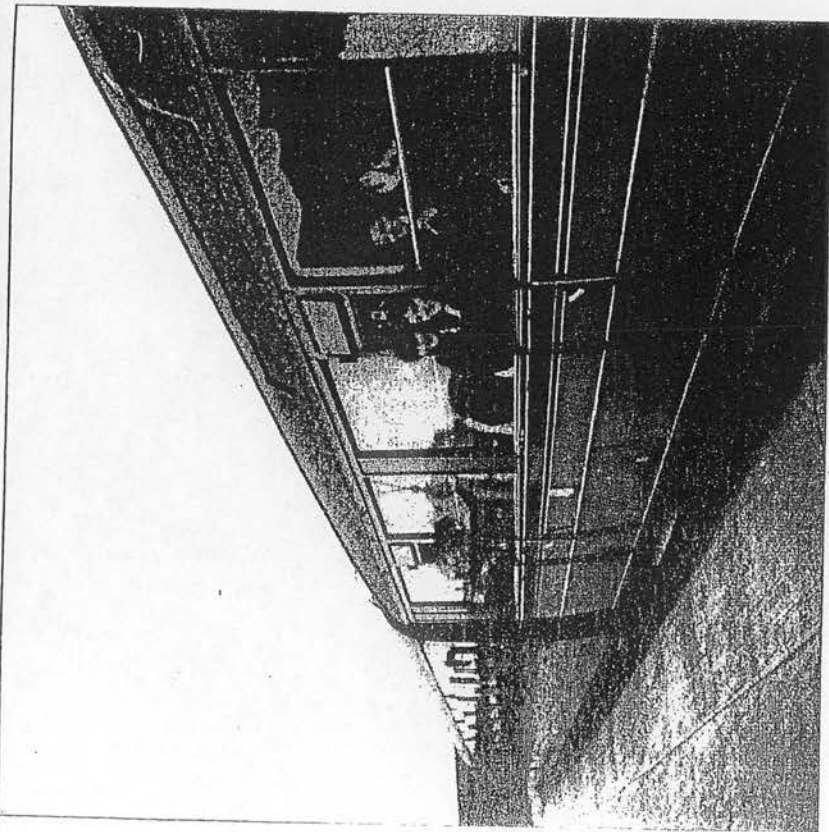


Figure 12.2 Outing from Snowdon School, Stirling.

evacuees' from Edinburgh, was set up in 1940. Wills set up a system of shared responsibility with the boys in the schools after a period where the boys violently tested his belief in the ineffectiveness of punishment. Nerston school in East Kilbride was also set up in 1940, by the Glasgow Child Guidance Service. It was for children of primary-school age who showed psychological disturbance. Although run by psychologists, Nerston in its early years seems to have worked more in the tradition of the approved schools, with a highly structured and disciplined regime.

In 1964, the Secretary of State for Scotland published a report from a working party on the *Ascertainment of Maladjusted Children in Scotland*. This report pointed to a considerable discrepancy between the numbers of children considered to have need of a special place in a school for the maladjusted and the number of places available. By 1966, these concerns were expressed in the *Guardian* newspaper:

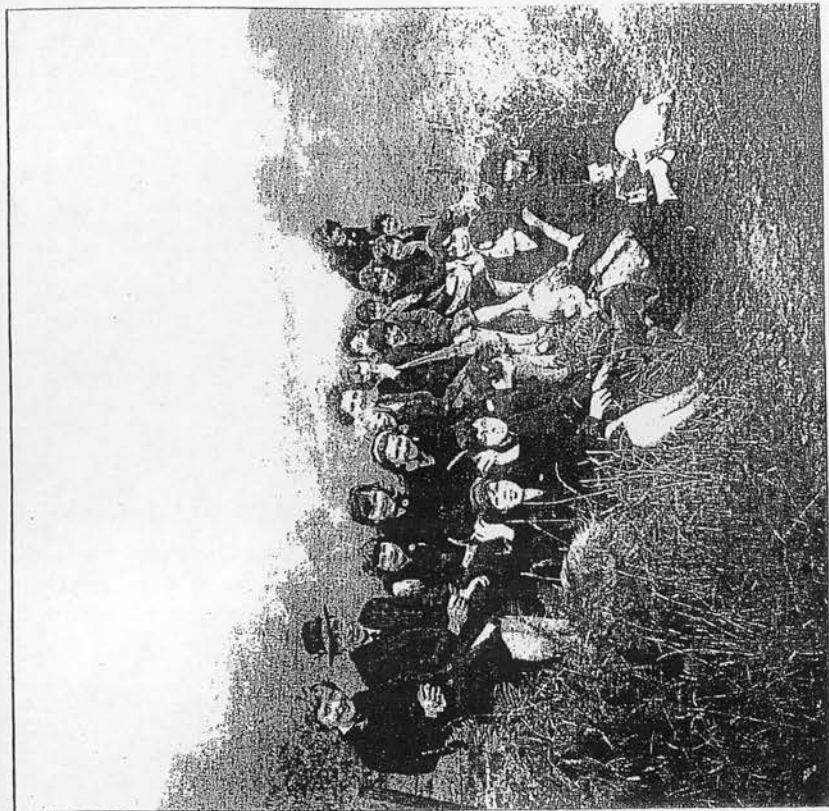


Figure 12.3 Group on outing from Snowdon School, Stirling.

By the end of this year, if there is no improvement in special education in Scotland, a maladjusted child in London will have a chance of a suitable education 17 times greater than a Scottish one ... Working from the number of children in special education in London, the proportionate figure for Scotland should be 3,180; the actual number is 191.²⁰

Such assertions beg a number of key questions, firstly to do with the subjective character of the assessment and identification of 'maladjusted' children, and of the inevitably subjective definition of the concept of maladjustment; secondly with the assumption that different parts of the country with varied cultures and different education systems should produce the same number of 'maladjusted' children. The lack of sufficient out-of-school provision for children considered to be too

disruptive or 'disturbed' for the mainstream has, however, continued to be a recurring theme.

KILBRANDON AND AFTER

Also in 1964, there was the publication of the Report of the Committee of Enquiry chaired by Lord Kilbrandon. This report, *Children and Young Persons, Scotland*,²¹ was very important in setting a framework for the discussion of children in trouble in Scotland which is still current. Many Scottish professionals, and much academic literature, still refer to the Kilbrandon Report, which was republished by the Scottish Office in the 1990s, partly as a contribution to the debate preceding the Children Act (Scotland) 1995. The Kilbrandon report echoed the views of the early reformers such as Mary Carpenter in its refusal to distinguish between the troubled and the troublesome and to acknowledge the common needs of the offender and the offended against. The Report and the subsequent setting-up of the Children's Hearing System established a strongly welfare-based system of responding to offending children which has been largely sustained in Scotland, even through the period of the 1980s and 1990s where successive British governments argued for a more justice-based or perhaps more punishment-based approach.

The Children's Hearing System is a structure of social-welfare decision-making to which children can be referred by either professionals or the public on the grounds that one or more aspects of their life or behaviour is giving cause for concern and an indication that they may be in need of compulsory measures of care. Decisions at the hearings are made by panel members who are volunteers, selected from, and ideally representative of, the community. The hearings deal only in issues of the welfare of the child; questions of proof are decided, when there is dispute, in court. In the 1968 Social Work Scotland Act which established the hearing system, the grounds of referral are listed. These begin with children beyond the control of their parents, falling into bad associations, exposed to moral danger and lacking in parental care, and continue through other criteria, including failure to attend school regularly until the child having committed an offence appears as the seventh in the list. This was a deliberate strategy to emphasise that the hearing system was intended for a wide range of children in need and not only for those who break the law. However, the largest number of referrals has always been of offenders. In the last 20 years, the detailed work of the hearings has increasingly involved child abuse.

In the early 1970s, the new hearing system became the source of most referrals to the approved schools, renamed List D schools, and now administered by the newly established Social Work Services Group. This appellation, which located the schools on one of the various lists of

schools held by the Scottish Education Department, was intended to remove the perceived stigma of the old approved schools. The schools had been subject to some criticism in the 1960s and early 1970s. In January 1969, there were 26 approved schools which held 1,444 boys and 174 girls, pointing to another recurring theme in this work, that of the continued gender imbalance in such provision.²² About 75 per cent of children committed were offenders, 65 per cent of whom had more than two court appearances. The rest were children who truanted from school, were in need of care and protection, or were beyond the control of their parents. The schools were classified as junior, intermediate and senior and were at this time very varied in their style and regimes. Some were still located in the original buildings of the industrial or ragged schools or reformatories, a few were newer purpose-built establishments and others were in former country homes. In the early 1970s, the emphasis was often on discipline and training with an emphasis for older pupils on occupational skills, with a rigid gender divide. This included 'farm work, carpentry, metalwork, building, painting and decorating for boys; cookery, laundry work, housewifery, commercial subjects for girls'.²³ The schools for girls were especially gleaming as a result of the compulsory housework activities of the girls, but the boys' schools also required considerable household cleaning. In Thornly Park boys' school where I began my teaching career in 1973, there was great argument over whether it was acceptable that the boys should scrub the corridors every morning before school. The decision to discontinue this practice was very unpopular with older staff, who saw this as a further undermining of the old disciplined ways.

Many schools had a strong flavour of Goffman's total institution, where all aspects of life are rigidly controlled and standardised.²⁴ Often in schools in the 1960s and 1970s, pupils had their own clothes removed on admission, had their hair cut and were issued with school clothes. They slept in dormitories with no sign of personal possessions or interests and marched in line, often by number, through their daily tasks. Punishments for the boys were severe, often by use of the belt, not in the method of the day schools on the hand, but on their buttocks, sometimes through special thin shorts. Henderson²⁵ found many concerns voiced in Scottish Office papers of 1967. HMI inspecting schools in 1967 found extensive ill-treatment. The highest number of punishments were recorded in Geil-sland, a Church of Scotland school, where more than 250 punishments took place in an 18-month period. The head was told there was no justification for striking or cuffing and was warned about his behaviour. One inspector described boys defecating in fear while awaiting the next whack of the tawse: 'Mass revolts were avoided narrowly and one at Mossbank, Glasgow, was "hushed up"'. Staff at several schools were afraid to express their concerns because of the "terrifying power" of the heads.²⁶

Informal unrecorded physical punishment was common in many schools. Jimmy Boyle records his first contact with a member of staff of St John's approved school when an 'old guy in robes' hit him on the head with a billiard ball.²⁷ Physical punishment was less common in girls' schools, although there had been many complaints about Guthrie's Girls' School in Edinburgh.²⁸ By the 1960s, other girls' schools were relying more on chemical methods to control unruly pupils. Valium was prescribed by school doctors for use with any girl at the discretion of the staff. Both boys' and girls' schools also used locked rooms to contain disruptive pupils. Another widespread practice was the use of weekend home leave as a reward for good behaviour, leading to a very inconsistent pattern of family contact for many children.

In many schools, what now appear to be cruel and inappropriate practices continued alongside warm and constructive relationships between many staff and pupils. In *A Sense of Freedom*, Jimmy Boyle is critical of the harsh and regimented regime in St John's but does nevertheless acknowledge the impact of his relationship with the head, Brother Paul, describing him as 'an admirable person, one who was interested and who cared'.²⁹ Often pupils wrote to the schools in later years expressing their appreciation of the experience.

However, by the 1970s there was another cause for concern in the high rates of reoffending by boys after leaving approved schools. Two-thirds of boys were found in 1969 to have reoffended within three years of being released from approved school.³⁰ The rate of conviction was lower for girls' schools, which perhaps reflected a different balance in their population.

These concerns were influential in the development of more community-based forms of intervention with children and young people who were delinquent. Early examples of such projects were Panmure House in Edinburgh and the 'Clubbie' in Dundee. These centres worked with young people who were considered to need a greater level of support than could be provided by individual supervision by a social worker but less extreme than removal from home. This approach is often referred to as 'intermediate treatment'. Its use as an alternative to residential care was also encouraged by some influential research in England which had demonstrated the inconsistent character of the process through which some children ended up in residential establishments. There was considerable variation depending on where children lived, which school they attended, who their social worker or psychologist was, and which magistrate made the decision. Tutt argued that a lack of professional consensus led to 'almost untrammelled professional discretion'.³¹

Efforts to promote more effective interprofessional decision-making were important features of the youth strategies set up by a number of

Scottish regions in the 1980s. In Lothian Region the strategy, set up in 1983, was based on the following principles:

1. Problems associated with children's behaviour or circumstances should be dealt with wherever possible by keeping the child in his/her local community, using the resources of the family and other local resources in a flexible manner.
2. Children who are at risk of having to leave home or who are at risk of being excluded from school or who have a special educational need should be jointly assessed and in some cases jointly reviewed.
3. Both the education and social work departments will endeavour to contribute day and group work provision as an alternative to the residential care of adolescent children where this is appropriate.
4. No child should be recommended for residential care unless:
 - a) he/she has no home (including substitute home) in the community which can, with appropriate support, provide an adequate degree of control or care, or
 - b) he/she is at risk to himself/herself or others in the community, or
 - c) he/she has medical, psychiatric or special educational needs which can only be dealt with in a residential context and/or it is in the child's best interest which cannot be met in any other way.³²

The development of youth strategies and of community-based alternatives to residential care, as well as demographic changes, had an impact on the rate of referrals to the List D schools. The first reductions in the List D populations saw an almost identical increase in the rate of referrals to residential schools for the maladjusted in Scotland, raising interesting questions about the real differences between the schools or indeed about the tendency of professionals to tailor the 'needs' of the child to the admission criteria of the school. The List D schools themselves had become rather varied in their regimes by the late 1970s and early 1980s: some had moved to a less formal, more child-centred approach with wider educational programmes, while others maintained their more traditional style with a continued emphasis on trade training with a limited remedial education programme.³³

In 1983, the same year as the first youth strategy, the government published the Fiddes Report, *The Future of List D Schools*,³⁴ which was highly critical of educational standards in the schools, and in 1986 central funding for the List D schools was withdrawn. By February 1986 the population of the List D schools had fallen to 655 pupils, and by April there were only 14 schools.³⁵ McCracken argues that the withdrawal of

residential supervision of children. It has become clear that in the past there was abuse of children by staff and by other children in some residential schools. This has led to 'increased vetting of staff and more stringent standards in registrations and inspection of schools'.³⁸

WHERE NOW FOR THE SCHOOLS?

There has been very little recent research or evaluation of residential schools, although in 1995 they were included in a study of the outcomes of social-work intervention with young people. The placement was rated as very helpful by 59 per cent of the young people interviewed. Parents and referring social workers also responded positively. Aspects valued included 'small classes and individually tailored teaching; low turnover of staff and residents; planned entry and programmes; flexible links with families'.³⁹

There is still, however, a strong argument for research which explores different aspects of the effectiveness of the schools. In a literature review commissioned and produced for the Scottish Office in 1996, we argued that there would be value in a national audit of the use of full-time alternative provision, including residential schools, in the public, private and voluntary sectors. We also argued that, in a climate of emphasis on integration and on the maintenance of children within their own communities and families, there is little public acknowledgement of the residential schools and little debate over their use.⁴⁰ There has been little research into either short- or long-term outcomes of residential-school placement.

Recent thinking about residential schools shows themes which have been recurring since the days of the industrial schools and the reformatories. There is a continued belief in the moral strength of education. There is still an uneasy relationship between the state and the residential schools, many of which are not owned or administered by education authorities. There are still clear differences in the experiences, referral patterns and numerical representation of girls in the residential schools. Concern is often expressed over the placement of small numbers of girls in what are essentially boys' schools.

The increasing emphasis in British social policy on the value of work is reflected in the continuing dilemma over whether the residential schools' curriculum should reflect a greater vocational element. Welfare-based policies emphasising the needs of disadvantaged children are set against increasing demands for a more justice-based approach focusing on young people's delinquency. Treatment versus punishment, care or control, as McCracken argues, are recurring arguments.⁴¹ There continues to be a debate over whether the origins of crime can be found in poverty or in poor parenting.

central government from the administration and funding of the List D schools left them like a bus whose driver and conductor got off and left the passengers to their own devices. He quotes Colvin, of the government's Social Work Services Group, who explained that

one of the reasons they got off the bus was that all the passengers were in dispute about where they wanted to go in the first place, and as some of the passengers actually owned the bus, the driver and conductor were in an impossible position.³⁶

Since the Scottish Office closed its List D, all residential schools are listed on List G which contains special and residential schools for pupils with a range of special educational needs. This means that there is no recognised official difference between those schools which were formerly List D schools and those which were residential schools for maladjusted children.

Some former List D schools became much more similar in their admission criteria and regime to the schools for the maladjusted and began to recruit their children through educational psychologists rather than children's hearings. Many of the schools now also admit day pupils, and many admit children both from hearings and through education-department referrals. A small number of schools became incorporated into local-authority provision, others became charitable trusts or belonged to charities and some became independent profit-making schools, owned by individuals. In 1998 there are 29 residential schools catering for pupils with social, emotional or behavioural difficulties, of which four are currently being considered for closure.

In 1990, a report from the Scottish HMI, *Choosing with Care*, argued that there was still a considerable degree of fortuitousness in referral to special provision for children now usually referred to as having social, emotional or behavioural difficulties. They found that 'Pupils of comparable age and background, evincing similar problems, could be treated quite differently depending on where they happened to live'.³⁷ The HMI argued that there was a demonstrable difference between the high quality of the planning and record-keeping for the care of the children and the uneven quality of that on the educational side. Accordingly, the schools in the 1990s have worked to improve their educational provision and to conform to national curriculum guidelines for all schools. Recent HMI inspection reports indicate that educational quality is still patchy and there are still concerns expressed about the overall educational achievement of children leaving residential and other special schools for pupils with social, emotional or behavioural difficulties. Particular concern has been expressed over the quality of educational provision in residential secure provision.

Another area of considerable concern in the 1990s has been the

At the end of the 1990s there is still a strong professional consensus in Scotland over the importance of inclusion of troubled and troublesome children in mainstream schools, and some authorities are closing residential schools and diverting resources into alternative provision. At the same time, most professionals in education and social work would argue for a few, well-resourced, high-quality residential schools for the small number of children who cannot be placed elsewhere.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due for the time given by the knowledgeable staff in Snowdon and Wellington schools and for access to their fascinating historical materials.

NOTES

1. Scotland, 1969.
2. Quoted in Pearson, 1983, 175.
3. Quoted in Pearson, 1983, 119.
4. Pearson, 1983, 177.
5. Constitution, 1868.
6. Constitution, 1868.
7. Papers of Snowdon School, Stirling.
8. Papers of Snowdon School.
9. Hunter, 1971, 151.
10. Papers of Wellington School, Penicuik.
11. McCracken, 1992, 110.
12. Papers of Wellington School, 1915.
13. Scotland, 1969, 1, 274-5.
14. Hurt, 1988, quoted McCracken, 1992, 110.
15. Bridgeland, 1971, 229.
16. McCracken, 1992, 110.
17. Bridgeland, 1971, 230.
18. SED, 1952.
19. Bridgeland, 1971, 189.
20. *Guardian*, quoted in Bridgeland, 1971, 303.
21. Kilbrandon Report, 1964.
22. Hunter, 1971, 153.
23. Hunter, 1971, 156.
24. Goffman, 1961.
25. Henderson, *TES*, 9 January 1998, 4.
26. Henderson, *TES*, 9 January 1998, 4.
27. Boyle, 1977, 69.
28. Henderson, *TES*, 9 January 1998, 4.
29. Boyle, 1977, 72.
30. Hunter, 1971, 161.
31. Tutt, 1984, 16.
32. Maginnis, 1989, 7.
33. Toman, 1986, 54.

34. Fiddes Report, 1983.
35. McCracken, 1992, 115.
36. Colvin, quoted in McCracken, 1992, 115.
37. HMI, quoted in Lloyd, 1992, v.
38. McCracken, 1992, 115.
39. Hill et al, 1996, 267-8.
40. Cullen and Lloyd, 1997.
41. McCracken, 1992.

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14 Gender and exclusion from school

Gwynedd Lloyd¹

Introduction

The 'New Labour' government has indicated its desire to tackle social exclusion and it is evident that school exclusions are one of the earliest points at which pupils become detached from the mainstream. Attention has turned to the fact that not only is exclusion from school increasing, but that far more boys than girls are excluded from school. When this is acknowledged in the literature, it tends to be through a focus on the majority boys and rarely on the smaller but still significant numbers of girls excluded. This chapter will focus on disciplinary exclusion from school as a gendered process through a discussion of findings from a recent Scottish research project on 'Exclusion from School and Alternatives'. It will show that exclusionary processes in Scotland are similarly gendered although this aspect may not often be explicitly recognised or considered by the participants in the process. There is very considerable variation between schools in the proportion of girls excluded, pointing to a complex pattern of gendered construction of deviance and raising questions about the relationship between gender and school ethos. The chapter suggests the usefulness of comparative research on the impact of different policies and practice in varied cultural contexts north and south of the border.

Scotland: the context

In Scotland, unlike England and Wales, there has not been a national reporting system on exclusion nor has recent legislation defined the process of exclusion other than in general terms, the law on exclusion being found in a number of different Acts and regulations (Cullen *et al.* 1996a). Information on pupils excluded was collected from education authorities through the data on non-attendance at school, exclusion paradoxically under the heading of unauthorised absence. Several authorities objected to this and failed to submit figures. In any case the lack of standardised exclusion definitions and processes meant that those figures which did appear were highly inaccurate. In 1998 following the publication of the research discussed below and after a period of national consultation the Scottish Office published national guidelines on exclusion (SOEID 1998).

There are other key features of the Scottish context which may be relevant to a discussion of the process of exclusion. Some, such as the development of a quasi-market structure for the delivery of educational services and significant curriculum changes, are common to Scotland and other parts of Britain but the character of the change, it may be argued, has been different. Strong Labour-controlled local authorities, with almost no schools opting out, a teacher trade union representing most teachers, and vocal parental and professional organisations meant that there was perhaps more of a balance with central government, although the effect of the recent restructuring of local government into thirty-two smaller authorities has still to be seen (Riddell and Brown 1994). Scottish education has perhaps always been a smaller and more homogeneous system, with curriculum change managed through the use of national guidelines in contrast to the more prescriptive National Curriculum. Scottish education ministers and HMTs in the last few years rarely engaged in public criticism of teachers.

Further relevant features of Scottish society are, first, the relatively small proportion of children from ethnic minority communities, very few from African-Caribbean families and, second, the higher level of children living in poverty than in the rest of Britain (Lloyd and Riddell 1997). Out of school there has been a broad consensus on the value of the welfare-based Children's Hearing System where decisions are made by a lay panel about children considered to need compulsory measures of care and/or control. This system is based on a structural separation between the legal establishment of guilt and the consideration of issues of care and welfare and reflects a concern to deal with children under 16 in terms of welfare even when the grounds of referral are offence based (Schaffer 1992). Most Scottish authorities also have policies and structures, often referred to as youth strategies (Kendrick 1995), to promote inter-agency working and to maintain children, where possible, in their local schools and communities.

In the early 1990s there was, however, a sense of increasing pressure on schools and concern over what seemed to be increasing numbers of pupils being excluded. The research reported below was commissioned by the Scottish Office in order to provide a picture of exclusion policy and practice in Scotland.

Exclusion in Scotland: the research

The aims of the study were to map policy and practice of exclusion in Scotland and to explore in-school alternatives to exclusion. The project had three phases: a study of education authority policy and procedures across Scotland, a survey of head teachers about their exclusion policy and practice; and case studies of schools offering contrasting practices. The first phase found considerable variation in the ways authorities defined, counted and kept exclusion figures and variation on the kind of exclusion allowed and the length of time permitted.

In stage two information about numbers of excluded pupils was collected from 176 schools, 60 primary and 116 secondary, that is 3 per cent of primary schools and more than a quarter of all secondary schools in Scotland. In addition, 120 of the schools provided detailed written information about each pupil who had been

excluded over an eight-month period. They do not constitute a representative sample as 60 per cent of the schools had been selected by their education authority, not randomly, but as being either high or low excluding in the context of their authority (Cullen *et al.* 1996b). Nevertheless, the data collected from these schools does provide an illuminating snapshot of Scottish practice.

In the third stage of the project, detailed interviews were carried out with a range of school staff, other professionals, parents and pupils in twelve schools, eight secondary and four primary, selected as matched pairs of 'high' and 'low' excluding but with broadly similar pupil populations. Some eighty-four interviews were conducted in total at this stage. We had some difficulties in gaining access to pupils and parents in some schools, particularly in the primary sector. Some head teachers seemed reluctant to disrupt the carefully balanced relationship they felt they had negotiated with parents of excluded pupils. Some interviews were conducted in school, others in places where pupils or parents felt more comfortable, for example in homes. One was even conducted in a supermarket cafe. So the findings discussed in this chapter derive from the interviews with head teachers and their written data on exclusion in stage two and on the more detailed interviews in the case study schools in stage three of the research project.

The overall picture of exclusion

Some 25 schools reported no exclusions during the previous 8 months, of these, 21 were in the primary sector. The 39 primary schools reporting exclusion figures had excluded 202 pupils in total while the secondary schools (110) had excluded 3,562 pupils. Three primary schools and 24 secondary schools had excluded more than 5 per cent of their population at least once during this period. In addition to exclusion, a further 959 pupils from the survey schools had been informally sent home, some in authorities where procedures did not officially allow this. Analysis of the detailed information provided showed that 64 per cent of excluded primary pupils and 69 per cent of excluded secondary pupils had been excluded on only one occasion during the study period. There was a substantial variation in both policy and practice between the Scottish authorities and a wide disparity between schools in numbers of pupils excluded and of days lost as a result of exclusion. These variations along with exclusion data for boys and girls are discussed in the remaining sections of the chapter.

Excluded pupils and socio-economic disadvantage

As catchment area or socio-economic status are not easily identified the project used two proxy measures for this; these were the percentage of pupils eligible for free school meals and the head teachers' estimation of the socio-economic status of the pupils:

as the percentage of pupils eligible for free school meals increased, exclusion from school tended to increase but there were substantial exceptions. Some

13 per cent of the schools had both a high exclusion rate and the lowest percentage of pupils eligible for free school meals. (Cullen *et al.* 1996b)

Conversely, 20 per cent of the schools had disadvantaged catchment areas but made less use of exclusion than some schools in prosperous areas.

Table 14.1 indicates that the secondary pupils who had been excluded were not overwhelmingly those eligible for free school meals, whereas seven out of ten excluded primary school pupils were eligible. The relationship between exclusion and poverty is therefore complicated. The data indicates that there were higher rates of exclusion in more disadvantaged areas but that other factors to do with the character of schools are clearly very important.

Gender and exclusion from schools in Scotland

Table 14.2 shows that boys were far more likely to have been excluded than girls, particularly from primary school. At the secondary level boys were excluded more often and for longer periods than girls. Overall, boys were between three and four times as likely than girls to have been excluded. For single exclusions boys outnumbered girls by three to one but were not excluded for longer periods than girls. For multiple exclusions boys outnumbered girls by just over four to one and were also more likely to be excluded for a higher total of days than girls.

Our findings are not statistically generalisable to the rest of Scotland but these

Table 14.1 Excluded pupils' eligibility for free school meals

Eligibility	Primary school pupils N = 184		Secondary school pupils N = 2,526	
	n	%	n	%
Eligible	134	73	824	33
Not eligible	50	27	1,198	47
No information	0	0	504	20

Table 14.2 Sex of excluded pupils

Sex	Primary school pupils N = 184		Secondary school pupils N = 2,518	
	n	%	n	%
Boys	169	92	1,934	77
Girls	15	8	584	23

Note: Overall numbers shown in the tables vary as a result of incomplete information provided in some categories by schools.

figures, if repeated across the country, would suggest that the proportion of girls excluded from secondary school, i.e. 23 per cent, could be somewhat higher in Scotland than in the rest of Britain. Studies of exclusion in England and Wales have all found disproportionately larger numbers of boys to have been excluded and in particular African-Caribbean boys. Boys are between four and five times as likely to be excluded than girls (Blyth and Milner 1996). At primary school level the proportion of boys is even larger (Parsons *et al.* 1995; Hayden 1997).

The findings of this study also support the argument that although girls are a smaller proportion they are still excluded in numbers – just about 600 girls from 120 schools in our study! Yet a discussion of the experience of girls rarely features in the literature. Nor does it stand out as an important issue in the perspectives of the head teachers. When the 176 head teachers interviewed in phase two of the research project were asked an open question about what they saw as the salient issues about exclusion, only two mentioned gender. The unquestioning acknowledgement of the gender differences is exemplified by the acting head teacher of a secondary school when providing a list of excluded pupils:

I don't mind if you take this away and do a boy/girl thing, for example. You're very welcome to it. I'm not going to do it because I don't have the time but you'll find boys grossly outweigh girls in this . . .

It might be argued that the most significant finding of our project is perhaps the way in which the gender differences are largely taken for granted by respondents.

Analysis of our case study interview data does, however, point us to some ideas which may be helpful in exploring gendered patterns of exclusion. These are:

- that girls' deviance in school may be different from boys';
- that schools have gendered models of deviance;
- that schools respond differently to girls' deviance;
- that schools employ different strategies with boys and girls;
- that teachers respond differently in classrooms;
- that the ethos and culture of the school are gendered;
- that commitment to equal opportunities affects how schools respond to deviance.

In the British literature on exclusion, as suggested earlier, where exclusion is considered in terms of gender this tends to focus on boys. By implication therefore girls are not excluded as often simply because they are not boys. Boys offend more than girls, are identified more often as having 'emotional and behavioural difficulties', or 'conduct disorders'. Therefore the disparity is 'normal' and unproblematic and explanations characterised by an implicit biological reductionism.

More sociologically based arguments suggest that although girls may be as 'needy, disruptive and prone to problems as boys . . . they present less of a challenge in schools' (Crozier and Anstiss 1995: 44). Girls' disruptiveness is seen to be linked to their gender identity and to be less overtly confrontational. The

accounts of girls themselves of getting into trouble at school often refer to persistent everyday misbehaviour such as talking, smoking, not wearing 'suitable' clothes, lateness, absence and reflect an awareness of a negotiation over the boundaries of acceptable behaviour (Lloyd 1992). This negotiation implies a recognition by pupils of the gendered constructions of teachers' perceptions of boys' and girls' deviant behaviour (Davies 1984).

A number of interviewees in our study argued that the character of girls' deviance was different: 'In third year especially it's bullying, falling out with their friends, usually over some boy' (Educational welfare officer). Several mentioned the particular importance of friendships to girls and also that girls might be more likely than boys to get into trouble as a result of responding to 'slagging':

They [i.e. other pupils] call you names and nag at you and you just end up striking back because you get sick of it, then it's not the other person that gets into trouble it's me.

(Girl, secondary school)

It doesn't mean we haven't had girls in the past who have caused a fair degree of worry but we don't just now. I can't even think of any who maybe have the potential. They pose us different worries. I think the girls' worries are relating to things like attendance. They're maybe being kept at home to look after younger ones.

(Primary school head teacher)

The various participants in this study argued that the reasons for exclusion would be different: 'There would be considerably more boys excluded than girls but there are certainly girls in living memory who have had a short-term exclusion, mostly for language, more so than anything else' (Assistant head, secondary school).

Analysis of the reasons given in written data by schools for the exclusion of pupils (in stage two) of our study, however, indicates that a very similar pattern of reasons was given for boys and girls.

Figure 14.1 shows that the largest number of exclusions from school are for what the schools see as fighting or assault between pupils (for assaults on staff see below), followed by generally disruptive behaviour. Vandalism was given as a reason much more often for boys than for girls, 11:1 whereas the small figures for truancy as a reason for exclusion showed the largest proportion of girls, 15 girls to 24 boys. So the reasons given by schools for exclusion of boys and girls suggest that, although boys and girls are excluded in very different proportions, they are excluded for similar reasons.

Of course the kinds of reasons given are themselves open to considerable interpretation. When fighting between pupils is considered serious, or when fighting becomes characterised as assault, depends on the perception or judgement of the staff. What these findings do not directly indicate is whether when boys and girls are excluded, for example, for disruptive behaviour, what assumptions about

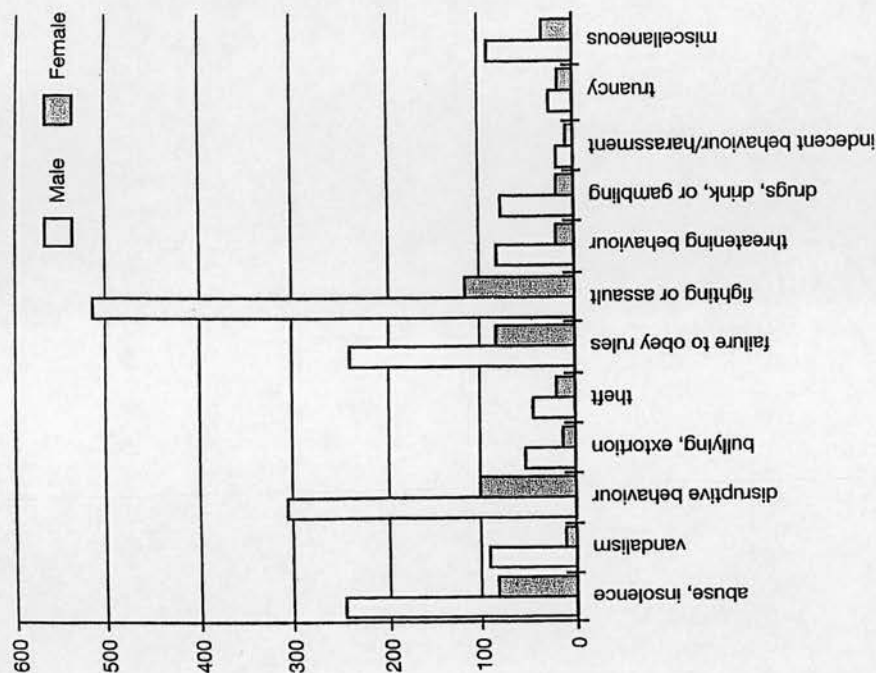


Figure 14.1 The reason for exclusion identified by schools

Notes: Reasons identified here were provided by schools in the phase two survey. Primary school pupils N = 184, secondary pupils N = 2,250.

gender and disruptiveness may be implicit in the construction of the behaviour as sufficiently disruptive to warrant exclusion.

Truancy in relation to exclusion of girls was raised on a number of occasions by respondents.

I know one girl just runs rings round you and she appears, she disappears and she is just basically raising her fingers to the system, so although it looks like it's for persistent truancy it's for persistent disregard for any system the school has for discipline. She's cheeky to staff when she's here - it's just a mess - but one of the things it goes down as is truancy.

(Assistant head, secondary school)

other pupils in the teachers's judgment of whether or not a pupil at risk of exclusion could be saved should not be underestimated.

(Cullen *et al.* 1996a)

So the school's definition of a 'savable pupil', boy or girl, may also be influenced by the views and the actions of their peers (Marshall 1996).

It is clear that one important factor affecting how schools view deviant behaviour is the extent of explicit challenge to the school or to individual teachers. Related to this is the question of how girls and boys respond to correction or attempts to impose discipline by staff. A teacher of English in a secondary school, when discussing a girl who had been in trouble in the school argued in her favour that: 'she doesn't answer back, she takes a telling off, not very graciously but she doesn't answer back'.

Girls may be more effective in defusing challenge by 'taking a telling off'. Girls were also more likely than boys to be excluded only once which may suggest that if exclusion does act as an effective deterrent, and this is not the only possible way of looking at this, then it may be more effective for girls.

There was some suggestion of greater leniency towards girls as the account from an excluded boy illustrates: 'In the class just after I came back from exclusion there was a lassie swearing and the teacher didn't bother but when I got caught I got chucked out' (Boy, secondary school). A mother's view also reveals the same perspective on girls' deviance: 'If it had been a boy that was doing what Isobel was doing, I don't think they would have given him so much space.'

It could be argued that girls may be treated with greater leniency or chivalrousness when they offend in ways considered typical for girls but with greater harshness when they are considered to be behaving in unfeminine ways, more typical of boys, for example, using violence. This has been well established in the criminal justice system. Further, it may be that decision-making is influenced by other aspects of the girl's life, again with greater harshness if her actions are not acceptably compatible with her female destiny (Gelsthorpe 1989; Hudson 1989; Samuel 1994). This may lead to a consideration together of indiscipline and morality for girls but not for boys. Social work staff interviewed in this project saw non-attendance at school as providing a gender-specific risk for girls, expressed in terms of the notion of moral danger: 'They're going out of control, they're in danger, in moral danger often' (Social worker).

So, the interviews with professionals involved in the exclusion process do suggest that gender is an important, although often implicit, factor in making sense of why girls *may* be excluded and of why they *may not* be excluded. Their accounts suggest that schools have highly gendered models of deviance.

Violence, power and decision-making

The small numbers of pupils excluded for violence towards teachers are shown in Table 14.3 along with figures for drug and offensive weapon related exclusions. Here the number of girls excluded for these reasons is even smaller. This is

This suggests that the important aspect is not the failure to attend but the implied challenge to the authority of the school. The use of exclusion in relation to girls who truant was raised by two external professionals. An educational welfare officer talked of working to get a girl to return to school but of her exclusion on her first day of return. She also saw the problem as lying in the girl's apparent attitude to authority. She described her as having been in trouble with the police. 'It was more her attitude that got her into it, she wouldn't even get out of bed to talk to them.' A Reporter to Children's Hearings, when discussing a secondary school girl with a pattern of exclusion and truancy, also raised the problem 'of dealing with children who don't want to be in school and when they do arrive are excluded anyway'. The girl's mother saw the issues as related. 'She's been excluded a lot, mainly for her behaviour, and as a result of that she's been doing a lot of truanting as well ... I think it's more boredom than anything else.' She said that her daughter was often excluded for disruptiveness in class:

She seems to take over the class, sort of thing. She gets other kids to ... She can disrupt the class easily ... I think I would say that she's one of the leaders, you know, because she's not one of the sheep. Everybody more or less sort of copies her and then that's the teacher sort of left, you know ...

The attendance officer involved with the family above also talked about the greater maturity of girls like this, who have not officially reached school-leaving age, but have actually moved on from it. The earlier maturity of girls was mentioned by a social worker in a secondary school based project:

Teachers complain about very immature boys and girls coming in, especially boys I think - first year boys they basically behave like primary three or four pupils who are not ready to accept the discipline of 'That's your desk, that's your chair and you stay in it!'

Interviews in our case study schools showed that there were variations in the concept of an 'acceptable' pupil, in particular in the primary schools they identified some pupils as difficult but 'savable'. Factors seen to be important to this definition included age, level of achievement, personal and relationship skills, parental contact with the school, parental and home circumstances and length of the time the problem had persisted. Gender was not mentioned as a factor despite the huge disparity in the figures. The apparently greater maturity of girls, however, may be significant in that they may be seen by teachers to have considerably more developed social and relationship skills. The teachers in the primary schools suggested that often excluded pupils were seen to have been those who had

challenged the teacher's competence and status by questioning, contradicting, wasting time or hindering or bothering others in the class. The impact of

Table 14.3 Pupils excluded for physical assault on staff, offensive weapons or drugs

Reason for exclusion	Boys excluded				Girls excluded				Total excluded	
	Primary		Secondary		Primary		Secondary			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N = 1,434	
Physical assault on staff	7	4	18	1	0	0	1	0.2	26	1
Drugs	1	0.6	38	2	0	0	6	1	45	2
Offensive weapons	4	2	14	0.8	0	0	1	0.2	19	0.8

paralleled in the criminal justice sphere where the proportion of women convicted of the most violent crimes is smaller than their general representation in the crime statistics. Such women may, however, be treated more harshly than equivalent men by the criminal justice system because their crime is not only violent but, worse, is unfeminine and therefore more 'abnormal'.

An assistant head of a secondary school described an incident involving a 'bad' girl:

We had a girl recently who broke another girl's nose in the dining hall. The girl is standing in a queue in the dining hall. This one with about twenty of her chums comes through the dining hall, goes up to the girl, breaks her nose – premeditated, cast of 400 watching. Put her out, formally exclude, on the basis that if I was the parent of the victim I wouldn't want my daughter to go back into a place where this girl was. The authority wouldn't let us do that. We had to bring the kid back but I think the outcome will be that the other kid moves so we lose the nice kid because we are not allowed to formally exclude the bad kid.

This sounds like an action any school would find unacceptable. It is not clear, however, whether this was seen as particularly bad behaviour because it was a girl and perhaps because it was a girl engaging in violence with her peer group, a type of behaviour usually seen to be more typical of boys.

Decision-making in issues of exclusion is made, as it is made in the criminal justice system, largely by men. Scottish law defines exclusions as the responsibility of the head teacher. In our study only two of the secondary school head teachers were women. Even in primary schools, numerically dominated by women teachers, more than a third of heads were men. One assistant head in a secondary school described the decision-making on exclusion in the school board of studies, consisting of the Rector (i.e. head teacher) the Depute Rector and four Assistant Rectors, only one of the latter female. It may be argued that decision-making must be imbued with gender. Our data do not allow us to consider this in any depth. Other literature does look at relations of power in schools and in classrooms in gender terms, and in terms of the sense of power felt by teachers.

Robinson describes the disciplinary structure of the schools in her research as authoritarian and sees this as perpetuated through an ideology of 'hegemonic masculinity' (Robinson 1992). Male and female teachers were seen to employ different classroom disciplinary strategies and to vary these according to the gender of their pupils. It may be that some male teachers are less threatened by disruptive behaviour in girls and are therefore more willing to accommodate them. One secondary guidance teacher described a case of exclusion that in his view could have been avoided. Two girls were outside and were told by a teacher to go into the classroom and sit in the middle:

So they had taken him literally. They went into the classroom and sat in the middle of the floor. Now I would have gone Grrrrrr or whatever and they would have got up and have gone and that would have been the end of the matter. But, no, they end up suspended for three or four days.

So whether behaviour is considered sufficiently disruptive for exclusion may depend on the limits of tolerance, and the gendered conceptions of acceptable behaviour, of the individual teacher and the school staff with power to exclude. These limits are, however, themselves also circumscribed by school and authority policy.

Schools make a difference

Exclusion rates vary considerably from school to school. It is well established that these differences cannot be explained simply in terms of the individual character of pupils or the socio-economic characteristics of the schools' intake (Galloway *et al.* 1985; McLean 1987; McManus 1989; Blyth and Milner 1996). Our study, as outlined earlier, supports the view that the school itself does make a difference. While economic disadvantage was related to exclusion rates, there were none the less, schools with high exclusion rates in prosperous areas and schools with low exclusion rates in disadvantaged areas. The study does suggest that there is a need for research which would lead to more understanding of the cultures of working-class and middle-class boys and girls.

Comparison of schools with similar catchment areas and very different exclusion rates indicated that there were characteristics of the schools which tended to make them more inclusive or excluding. More inclusive schools tended to emphasise both social and academic goals rather than narrowly academic aims, to be characterised by more flexible and open pupil-teacher and school-home relationships, to have strong interprofessional relationships, a supportive senior management and a responsive local authority. If differences in overall exclusion rates between schools can be partly understood in terms of the culture and ethos of the school, then we need to ask questions about how these may be gendered.

School exclusion rates vary also in the proportion of boys and girls excluded. If such proportions reflected any simple distinction between the deviant behaviour of boys and girls then one would expect the rate to be constant. We, however,

found like Daniels (1996) that this was not the case and that there was a big range across schools. One secondary school had excluded ten girls and no boys. In other schools, although there was always a majority of boys, the proportion varied considerably; in some schools the proportion was as high as 9:1, in others half of those excluded were girls. Both these groups of schools included urban and rural areas and disadvantaged and more affluent catchment areas. The rate of exclusion by gender was not associated with the overall rate of exclusion of the school. So how do we make sense of such large variation? Why should the exclusion process in some schools be more gendered? Our study raises more questions than it provides answers although there are indications of areas which could fruitfully be further explored. Local and national monitoring of exclusion statistics would fail to address some important differences in exclusion rates of boys and girls if they were analysed only in global terms which mask the considerable variations at school level.

Interviews with secondary school staff suggested that support strategies employed by the schools may sometimes be differentiated according to gender. Selection of support strategies is clearly influenced by the teacher's conception of the underlying reasons for the child's difficulties (Cullen *et al.* 1996a). The main reasons offered by teachers as explanations for behaviour problems included difficulties in domestic background, underlying difficulties in learning, psychological problem, socio-economic deprivation, and general disaffection with school. Other literature points to the greater tendency of girls' behaviour to be constructed in terms of emotional or individual psychological difficulties (Hudson 1989). If disruptiveness in boys is more likely to be seen in schools as 'normal', then it may be that disruptiveness in girls may be constructed as more abnormal and, as argued earlier, responded to with greater harshness. Alternatively, it may be that it is understood as an indication of an emotional difficulty and dealt with less punitively, for example through counselling rather than exclusion. Teachers' interpretations of girls' and boys' deviance mean that various support strategies and punitive processes may be happening in different schools and often within the same school.

Another area which could be further explored concerns the impact of equal opportunities policies on exclusion rates. Several interviewees suggested that there was a pressure to identify girls who might require additional support. Girls may be experiencing various 'difficulties' but because they may not express them in such a directly confrontational way as boys they are not offered formal support. So an equal opportunities strategy may encourage schools to actively identify girls to include in support services:

But then that's one of the issues we try to look at in youth strategy, coming from the other side of the fence is that girls must have the same problems as boys, so we must look for girls here, because girls just don't present in the same way, in the same disruptive way as boys do, yet they must be under the same pressures, so they just sit quietly.

(Behaviour support teacher, secondary school)

It's been a strange thing recently. One of the performance indicators that we have is that we are supposed to work with as many females as males and just over the last couple of years, not by any one of ourselves, but at the last count up we were 59 per cent female and 41 per cent male.

(Social work groupworker, working with secondary school)

This position, in part, stemmed from the acknowledgement that when girls were offered support this often involved their participation in activities where they were always in the minority, for example, groupwork often takes place with two or three girls to a group of eight or nine boys. When girls are referred to out of school provision they often find themselves in the same situation. One reason then, for girls to be more included is to create a more balanced atmosphere which is not dominated by the interests of boys. However, this may also draw more formal attention to girls who may therefore move more quickly through the tariff system of the school.

If equal opportunities policies encourage those working with pupils identified as deviant in school to include more girls, what impact will this have on exclusion rates? Does gender equity mean that more girls will be excluded?

Conclusion

Our study confirms that while there are major gender differences in the process of exclusion from school, these differences are often left implicit in the discussion of the issue of exclusion by school staff. Where these issues are addressed, they suggest a gendered model of deviance in school and, conversely, a gendered notion of acceptable pupils. It may be that schools and teachers are using different strategies with boys and girls, at both classroom and school level. It points to important questions still to be asked by researchers and policy makers about how gendered conceptions of behavioural difficulties may be reflected in exclusion rates. What characterises schools with high and low rates of exclusion of girls? How do more inclusive schools conceptualise behavioural difficulties and how are these gendered? How is school ethos gendered? Are schools with active equal opportunities policies processing more girls into disciplinary routes? We need to explore the processes of disciplinary decision-making and look at how structures of support are used for boys and for girls. The views of girls, and their families, are not strongly visible in the literature and should be more actively sought.

There are wider issues over the relationship between overall higher attainment rates and lower exclusion rates for girls and whether strategies to reduce rates of exclusion and engage boys more effectively in schools could lead to proportionately more excluded girls. The policy dilemma for schools over the balancing of the needs of the individual difficult child against the needs of the more compliant majority can also be viewed in gender terms. Differences in exclusion rate mean that sometimes this may be understood as the needs of disruptive boys versus those of compliant girls.

There would be very interesting questions also in trying to make sense of why Scottish schools might seem to be excluding more girls than their equivalents in England and Wales and whether the overall pattern and rate of increase of exclusion in Scotland may be different. Increasing rates of exclusion in England have been related to the increasing marketisation of education, with the greater autonomy of head teachers combined with greater central pressures over the curriculum. Parental choice widens social distance between schools and means that schools which are full need not consider admitting excluded or 'difficult' pupils. In Scotland too parental choice has widened differences between schools, particularly in the cities but there has been virtually no opting out of local council control. League tables of examination results have also increased pressures on schools. However, strong council policies of inclusion support those schools which are attempting to reduce their exclusion rate.

Guidance on exclusion has recently been issued by the Scottish Office (SOEID 1998). These guidelines, which follow from the research reported here and from the consultation with local authorities undertaken afterwards, have a very different flavour from equivalent DfEE documents. They emphasise that exclusion from school is seen as a last resort, that the educational needs of excluded pupils must continue to be addressed, that multi-agency approaches should be used and they refer to the series of pilot projects being funded on alternatives to exclusion. They explicitly encourage an inclusive approach. They argue that, while uniformity across the country is undesirable, some degree of consistency is needed, but leave the principal responsibility for the management of exclusion with the local councils. They do not, however, specify stages of exclusion in days or the nature of grounds for exclusion. They do ask for the completion of an incident report form for each exclusion, to form the basis of local and national monitoring. This will allow, in future, a more detailed analysis of patterns of exclusion by gender and the correlation of gender with other factors in exclusion, such as social class and ethnicity.

Further research, and reflection by authorities and by schools, are needed to explore how they construe and respond to deviant behaviour in both boys and girls. The restructuring in 1996 of local government into thirty-two smaller from twelve large regional authorities may be increasing a greater local diversity of practice with respect to exclusion and to alternatives. However, the development of the Scottish Parliament may create a counter-move towards more centralisation of educational policy and practice. These developments support a strong case for more cross-border research focusing on the impact of social and educational change on the educational experience of pupils, boys and girls.

Note

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15 Caring, consuming and choosing

Parental choice policy for mothers of children with special educational needs

Heather Wilkinson

Introduction

This chapter is based on a longitudinal study of the experiences of twelve mothers, of primary-aged children with special educational needs (SENs),¹ as they went through the statementing² and school choice process following the introduction of parental choice policy through the 1988 and 1993 Education Acts. Their experiences are illustrative of some of the problems which have arisen in the area of special educational needs policy in the 1990s and of wider tensions reflected in social welfare in England in the 1990s, as central government policy has influenced the domestic division of labour (David 1991). In turn, these individualised decisions about children's education can affect wider collective patterns of integration. Although parental responsibility for a child's education was already strongly gendered, the introduction of parental choice policy through the 1988 Education Act emphasised the need for someone to take on the responsibility of school choice. Research suggested that this became part of the existing domestic division of labour. For families where a child has SENs this responsibility became additional to that of carer, with both these roles usually undertaken by women. Mothers now take on the work involved in both statementing and choice of school and in this chapter I explore these themes of choice, caring, and work in relation to these activities.

Recent developments in parental choice and SEN policy

The 1980s was a period of fundamental change in social welfare and policy in England and Wales as consecutive Tory governments attempted to reduce public expenditure through critiques of dependency culture. An examination of the main legislation during the period illustrates the wider changes, with the New Right introducing market ideologies and a gradual shift away from egalitarian measures based on universal access to welfare provision to the notion of market selectivity as the solution to the perceived crisis of the welfare state. These changes were reflected in a number of social policy areas including health, public housing

SECTION 4

SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

DEVIANCE AND GENDER IN SCHOOL - INTEGRATING THE THINKING

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ABSTRACT This paper looks at the place of gender in thinking about deviance in school, discusses some of the ideas that have been generated by feminists in criminology and argues that these can be helpful in both making sense of, and pointing to new questions for, research in education.

GIRLS DON'T BEHAVE BADLY BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT BOYS

Far more boys than girls:

- commit offences
- are excluded from school
- are in special provision for social, emotional or behavioural difficulties
- are identified as having 'attention deficit (hyperactivity) disorder'

Yet the academic literature on deviance in school, with a few commendable exceptions, still does not address gender. The issue of the disproportionate numbers of boys and girls appearing in the statistics is rarely discussed. However, an implicit awareness of this affects the literature so that general accounts of pupils or students identified as having 'emotional or behavioural difficulties' turn out to be about boys. (For example Colville, 1995; Cooper 1993) Thus gender is ignored and consequently questions of the significance of maleness or masculinity are not asked.

There is still very little written about girls. Davies' 1984 book, the most quoted text, is now twelve years old and is still often used as the single token reference to girls. It is interesting to consider the reasons why this is so. It can not be understood simply by reference to greater numbers of deviant boys as the number of references to girls is far fewer than their presence in the statistics would warrant. Riddell (1996) suggests three reasons for the invisibility of gender in the wider field of special educational needs. The first, the underdevelopment of disability theory is less applicable in the field of emotional and behavioural difficulties where there has been a well developed general theoretical literature. The neglect by feminism of issues of special educational needs is interesting as it is the strong feminist presence in the criminological literature which has generated the range of relevant research and texts in that field. There is a substantial feminist literature on other educational issues but not many feminists have been interested in deviance in school. The third argument suggested by Riddell involves the dominance of child-centred ideology in the field of special educational needs. It can be argued that psychologically based models are still dominant in the literature about emotional and behavioural difficulties, despite the development at local authority level of strategies based on more sociologically derived models. The work of Armstrong and Galloway (1994) can be cited in arguing that the conflict between these models is located in the conflict between the state and teachers over issues of autonomy and professionalism.

offenders who were modest, humble and remorseful and who seemed to conform to the domestic role were treated leniently. Those who did not conform to the conventional female role were treated more harshly (Worrall, 1990, Carlen, 1988).

Thus the behaviour of women in a different sphere of life affected decisions in court. Leniency and chivalrousness were exercised towards women whose behaviour in and out of court, and particularly in the domestic sphere was seen to be gender appropriate. Samuel (1994) though points to circumstances when women seem to be punished more harshly. '*...not withstanding their good showing in the domestic sphere.*' This is more likely to happen when women commit offences which also offend against gendered assumptions, for example when they have committed crimes of violence or are convicted with others.

Since female criminal behaviour is assumed to be a private and not a social act, female offenders whose offence is perceived to be social/sociable in character are more severely punished than those who are not. For young men and boys, then peer pressure is to be expected and may have a mitigating effect on their sentencing. For females deviance in groups is doubly deviant.

(Samuel *op. cit.*, p. 72)

QUESTIONS FOR RESEARCH ON DEVIANCE IN EDUCATION

Our study of the reintegration to mainstream school (or not) of children and young people in special provision for 'social, emotional and behavioural difficulties', found girls to be very much in the minority (1:4) both overall and in their schools. (Lloyd & Padfield, 1995) However decision-makers rarely commented on this unless asked directly. Placement was usually talked about in terms of the individual needs of the pupil placed in special provision but use of alternative provision overall in the study inevitably reflected a more complicated range of factors including historical patterns of provision, resource and financial considerations as well as the assumptions of the professionals about appropriate treatment. The smaller numbers of girls reflect, in part, the smaller numbers of places available.

Although we included a focus on gender in our research questions, in retrospect we gathered a lot of our data in a gender blind way. This was particularly true of many interviews where we and interviewees used the terms children and young people. Were we really talking about boys? In future this kind of interview would need a more explicit strategy to address this.

We also need to consider how the concept of 'social, emotional and behavioural difficulties' may be operationalised in a gendered process. (Or does the term allow boys to be processed in relation to 'social' and 'behavioural' while the girls are 'emotional'?) Is there a double bind for girls whose disruptiveness is seen as offending against gendered norms of social behaviour. Do schools have different behavioural expectations of boys and girls and how do these relate to other factors such as class and culture?

Although girls in our study were often in a very small minority in their special schools this was not considered by Heads to be a problem, rather, in many cases an advantage. Girls were seen to be more difficult to manage than boys and to create difficulties, especially in residential schools. Girls were seen to be, as Gelsthorpe (1989) argues, more vulnerable than boys but also more wicked. Heads raised the issue of sexuality in girls but not, unless asked directly, in boys.

The dominance of welfare considerations in decision making about girls is an issue in the other project to which I will refer briefly. This is a small scale longitudinal study involving twenty young women, considered to have 'social, emotional or behavioural difficulties' identified and interviewed initially in their last year of compulsory school. They have agreed to be interviewed at intervals over the next few years. They come from a variety of school settings : mainstream, day special or residential. What the initial interviews have demonstrated very clearly is that their lives reflect a complex interaction of experiences. They share the experience of difficulty in school but all of them also at least some of the following:

There are other interests too here - many academics have come into research from this field of special provision, dominated both by male staff and by a (financially driven) need to assert the values of special treatment for individuals. The dominance of male writers may contribute to the phenomenon described above where research involving only boys is regarded as having universal generalisability and issues of masculinity ignored. Coote (1994), in discussing families, children and crime cites Seidler's argument:

(He) has pointed out that men have found it difficult to study masculinity because they tend to see themselves simply as people, with women as a sub-category. Theirs, they assume, is the general and universal condition of the human species from which femininity deviates. To study it would be superfluous, like examining the properties of a placebo in a clinical trial.

(Coote, 1994, p. 6)

Over the last 20 years feminist writers have developed first a critique of mainstream criminology and then a distinctive approach. The absence of women in the overall literature was identified, as was the tendency to develop explanations of criminality based on the experience of men and boys, thus rendering women's deviance doubly abnormal (Gelsthorpe, 1989).

Work which did focus on women and girls until the 1960s had been very dominated by a biological determinism. Women's deviance reflected their essential nature, emotional and unstable. Petrie in her Scottish study of girls in List D schools suggests that in explanations of women's crime there had been a lingering pervasiveness of 19th century physiological determinism. There was also a strong sense of the significance of sexuality in girls behaviour, not regarded as significant in boys. (Petrie, 1986)

It has been pointed out with justification that troublesome boys go in for crime whereas troublesome girls merely go in for boys.

(West, 1967, p. 15)

Researchers in the 1970s argued that decisions about girls in the juvenile justice system were influenced by ideas about protection, 'at risk' and moral danger. Girls' sexuality was a focus of concern when the initial reason for concern was criminal offending. Girls were considered to need to be protected both from exploitation by others but also from themselves.

(Gelsthorpe 1989, Campbell 1981) Thus decision making about girls was seen to be more welfare than justice based and welfare defined in a more paternalist way. In research in the English juvenile courts, girls were much more likely to appear for such 'status' reasons, brought into the criminal justice decision-making system without having been charged with an offence. Often they were then referred to related systems with boys who had committed offences. So although fewer girls were dealt with on grounds of offences, some of those nevertheless moved up the same intervention structure as the boys. It was also argued that because of the lack of resources for girls, they may move more quickly up a tariff system.

Professional thinking about deviance in girls, they argued, was tied in with assumptions about femininity. Girls who offended against social norms were also offending against gender norms. Judgements about the fate of individual girls and women were influenced by assumptions about their conformity to 'appropriate' gendered behaviour.

Within the notion of conformity there is inscribed a system of gender differentiation which enables defendants to be judged for their identity as much for, or instead of, the crime they may be committing.

(Young, 1996, p. 42 - 43)

It had often been argued that women and girls received lighter sentences in the criminal justice system because of the chivalrous response of the male decision makers in the court system. Studies of the sentencing of male and female offenders found outcomes for male offenders to be most influenced by the nature of their offence. But for women offenders, however, the most decisive factors were demeanour in court and home competence. Female

truancy, exclusion, abuse, physical or sexual, local authority care, school-age pregnancy and delinquency. Such phenomena tend to be addressed individually in academic research and thinking.

The centrality of welfare considerations in decision-making about girls and the recognition of the family as both a place of protection and danger for girls (Hudson, 1989) could also be explored in the context of the dilemmas over autonomy as opposed to protection. Is protection a professional responsibility which operates differently in relation to girls?

THE NEED FOR MORE RESEARCH

Samuel argues that the patterns of decision-making in the criminal justice system in Scotland are complex and contradictory. They do show evidence, at different points, of both leniency and greater harshness in sentencing. She argues for more statistical and qualitative data to be gathered to show why girls and young women seem to have different interactions with the criminal justice system than boys or young men. (Samuel, 1996)

In Scotland the decision-making structures for juveniles who offend, who are excluded from school or who are considered to have 'social, emotional or behavioural difficulties' overlap and coincide. Inter professional collaboration is a key feature of local council policy. The same girls and young women are involved in the different systems. It makes no sense therefore to consider these questions for the juvenile justice system alone. We need to explore practices and assumptions within educational, psychological and psychiatric services as well as in children's hearings, court and social work.

Do the theoretical explanations operationalised by professionals reflect assumptions about the more biologically determined character of girls' deviance and/or double standards about sexuality and morality? Do ideas of chivalry and leniency help to explain differences in, for example, rates of exclusion from school or does this pattern reflect greater harshness in response to girls?

Researchers need to explore their own gendered assumptions about the nature of deviance, male and female. Within criminology, feminists challenged the dominance of positivist methodology adding a more creative theoretical imagining. In education we could develop imaginative ways of exploring the experience of girls and young, investigating their conformity, as well as their deviance. I am not arguing for the replacement of a narrow biological account of girls and deviance with another narrowly gendered account. But I am arguing for the inclusion of gender into our discussion of deviance in school. The thinking of educational researchers could be challenged by ideas developed in other theoretical traditions. The real world is not so neatly divided and recent (post modernist?) thinking has usefully encouraged us to challenge the boundaries of academic disciplines.

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